GENERAL HEADQUARTERS

FAR EAST COMMAND

MILITARY INTELLIGENCE SECTION, GENERAL STAFF

CIVIL INTELLIGENCE SECTION

SPECIAL REPORT

SAIONJI-HARADA MEMOIRS

PART XXI

"ABE TRIES FOR SOLUTION"

(1 Sep - 29 Dec 1939)

95-G+Q3-3.7

SECRET UNCLASSIFIED RESTRICTED CONFIDENTIAL
REGRADED
ORDER SEC ARMY
BY TAG PER
7002

[redacted]

These Memoirs are the private property of the family of the late Baron Kamao Harada and their reproduction in whole or in part, or use thereof in any abridged form, is not authorized except with express written permission of the owner.

Master
14 FEB 1949
45750

~~RESTRICTED~~

GENERAL HEADQUARTERS

FAR EAST COMMAND

MILITARY INTELLIGENCE SECTION, GENERAL STAFF

****

CIVIL INTELLIGENCE SECTION

****

THE SAIONJI - HARADA MEMOIRS

PART TWENTY ONE: ABE TRIES FOR SOLUTION

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter		Page
338	ARMY WINS ABE FOR PREMIER	2617
339	ARISUYE SUSPECTED	2627
340	NOMURA FOR FOREIGN MINISTER	2639
341	PROBLEMS CONFRONTING ABE	2646
342	FOREIGN OFFICE MEN BALK	2657
343	WANG REGIME HURRIED	2672
344	HARADA MEETS EMPEROR	2684
345	SUBORDINATES BACK TANI	2687
346	YONAI'S PROSPECTS	2695
347	CHINA PROBLEMS HARASS CABINET	2699
348	CABINET POLICIES CRITICIZED	2704
349	CABINET HOPEFULS MANEUVER	2713

SECRET UNCLASSIFIED RESTRICTED CONFIDENTIAL
REGRADED
ORDER SEC ARMY
BY TAG PER
70024

Saionji - Harada Memoirs

Chapter 338
(1 September 1939)

Army Wins Abe for Premier

Translated by Miss Miwako Yanamoto

On the night of the 22nd, MATSUDAIRA met KONOYE and KIDO. The next day he went to Hayama and met the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal. He made a report concerning the next Cabinet in Tokyo, and asked for the careful consideration of the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal. He came to my (HARADA) place around 8:00 p.m. His (MATSUDAIRA) story was: "The Prime Minister told the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal that the affairs of state cannot be carried on with the situation as it is today. With the conclusion of the Russo-German Non-Aggression Pact, Japan's foreign policy is in a state of having been practically betrayed. This is a failure in foreign policy which resulted from the unreasonableness of the Army. In order to serve in accordance with Japan's singular loyalty to the Emperor, I (Premier) shall, on one hand demand the Army's reconsideration and set an example; and, on the other, since I cannot justify myself to the Emperor, I shall apologize and resign. At present, the Army is very embarrassed and has no right to speak concerning the next Cabinet. However, to nag the Army because of that is unwise in the present instance. There is no objection to HIROTA (as Premier), but we must be prepared for the fact that there will be quite a bit of friction against UGAKI. MINAMI, the Governor-General of Korea, has the defect of being hard of hearing. Admiral KOBAYASHI, the Governor-General of Formosa, is one of the candidates. The Premier also mentioned Gen. HAYASHI as a possibility according to the

RESTRICTED

Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal.

"KIDO. KONOYE and the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, have agreed that HIROTA was the number one candidate. The three have sent me with the message to ask you to sound out HIROTA's personal opinion. Before that, will you please go to Gotemba and solicit the Genro's (Prince SAIONJI) opinion. It is the request of the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal and the others that if the Genro has no objection, they would like you to go immediately and secretly to see HIROTA."

According to KONOYE and KIDO, their hope was: "We would like to have a Cabinet organized with people who have no connections with the present Cabinet. In other words, we would like the Ministers in the new Cabinet to be really new."

That night, ARITA said over the phone: "KONOYE would be better for the next Cabinet than HIROTA. Full responsibility falls to KONOYE. Therefore, I would like to let KONOYE settle the matter. If KONOYE should come forward (as Premier), HIROTA could come forward as Foreign Minister. The post of Foreign Minister is a very difficult one, and I am opposed to HIROTA as Premier (meaning he would be rendering more valuable service as Foreign Minister). The meeting between the War Minister and the Prime Minister today (23rd), was probably about the resignation. The Premier has phoned me to come over tomorrow at 1:30 p.m. as he wants to see me. I think that it's probably about the same problem."

SAKAMOTO, the former Chief of the Kempei-tai, phoned me and said: "We must carry out a purge of the Army. The combination of UMEZU and TOJO would be best for that

~~RESTRICTED~~

purpose. Put SHODA in as Premier. We had Col. ARISUYE and SHODA meet."

On the 24th, I (HARADA) visited Prince SAIONJI at Gotemba. I gave him a complete report from beginning to end such as: HIROTA, the former Premier, was the number one candidate, and Gen. UGAKI was number two. There was quite a bit of opposition against Gen. UGAKI, and some, like the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, doubted his earnestness. It is said that the confidence of the Emperor toward UGAKI has lessened lately. At any rate, the situation stood at whether HIROTA or UGAKI would carry on.

He (Prince SAIONJI) said: "The next Cabinet is beyond me. If there was anyone I thought would be better than another, I would speak up. However, please tell them that I have no such opinions at present. I have received a message from the Emperor three times saying: 'Please advise me on the affairs of state.' Even if the Emperor told me not to speak, I would say my piece regardless if I considered it a matter as one on which I should speak. However, at present, I cannot say anything. Therefore, if you are going to HIROTA's place, why don't you talk to him according to your own ideas? Without any reference to me, caution him about various matters. I should like the person who takes charge of the administration this time, to be one who will make the wishes of the Emperor clear. Our foreign policy is our biggest failure since the beginning of our history. It is distressing, to have the power of the Army as it is today. I think that it will be very difficult no matter who takes over. Japan must get together with Great Britain, the United States and

RESTRICTED

France." Prince SAIONJI further stated: "According to my memory, an Italian Ambassador residing in another country told the Japanese Ambassador residing in the same country, or Minister, that Germany will do something soon. He (Italian Ambassador) said that when that happens, Japan mustn't become too aroused. I saw a telegram to this effect, but I do not remember which Ambassador it was. That was a hint of the recent Russo-German Non-Aggression Pact."

I (HARADA) first returned to Oiso. In the afternoon, I made arrangements with HIROTA and met him at his relative's villa at Kugenuma. From 3:30 p.m. until around 4:30 p.m., we discussed various matters. I felt somehow that he was undependable. HIROTA repeatedly said: "Prince KONOYE is the most suitable person as the leader of the next Cabinet. If Prince KONOYE should come forth, I would take over foreign policy to the best of my ability." There was an indication that he wanted to receive more concrete instructions from the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal about the formation of the Cabinet, and I felt that he wouldn't be any help. We know that HIROTA, from the standpoint of character and experience, is a very righteous man. However, he is a diplomat, and is very ignorant about internal affairs. With the feeling that this was very disheartening, I left, promising HIROTA I'd give the matter careful consideration. The feeling I (HARADA) got when I met HIROTA, was that he was 70% for acceptance and 30% for refusal. He was also very worried about the Army.

On the night of the 24th, when I (HARADA) returned home, there was a phone call from Tokyo telling me: "Feelings of ostracism against HIROTA are high at General

RESTRICTED

Staff Headquarters. The Army, as a whole, is starting an expulsion movement against HIROTA."

On the morning of the 25th, I (HARADA) went to Hakone. I met IKEDA at the Fujiya Hotel. IKEDA said the same thing that Prince SAIONJI had said, which was: "On this occasion we must have someone who will carry on with our thought of self. Someone with half-way measures is utterly impossible." He was very worried and said: "Japan's foreign policy must be changed considerably, or it will be beyond repair. It is already too late, but it'll become even worse."

I (HARADA) felt uneasiness about HIROTA, and phoned KONOYE about my feeling. I also told the same thing to KIDO. KONOYE said: "Why don't we make up our minds and carry through with IKEDA? I think that would be better, but KIDO is very worried about him." Hayama (meaning the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal) also approves highly of IKEDA."

Around 11:30 on the 25th, I (HARADA) went to Gotemba and saw Prince SAIONJI. I told him about my feeling when I met HIROTA and what IKEDA had said. Prince SAIONJI said: "It doesn't matter whether it is UGAKI or IKEDA. I think we should have someone who will carry on firmly without self-interest. Why not try IKEDA? However, there's a condition attached to this. Talk this over with KONOYE. If KONOYE agrees and will recommend IKEDA on his own initiative, I will approve."

I (HARADA) immediately told KONOYE about this by phone. I also informed MATSUDAIRA, and asked him to relay this to the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal. MATSUDAIRA, who was to urge KONOYE to make his decision, spent two days talking to

KONOYE. During that time, the Army, which at first was pushing SHODA for premiership, began to talk about ABE. The opinion between the Prime Minister and the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal was unanimous that: "ABE is limited in experience. The Army is recommending ABE. It is not good for the Army to recommend persons each time there is a political change. It is too bad that such a habit has been formed. This candidate is no good."

Therefore, I (HARADA) phoned KIDO and said: "Unless KONOYE resolves on IKEDA, IKEDA cannot come forward. In that case, let's compare HIROTA and ABE. ABE is said to be less experienced, but he is a new face. It is said that he is recommended by the Army and that is not good. Even if you say that now, it's been done before. If a man is recommended and his temperament isn't bad, or, in fact, good, wouldn't it be better to agree with them? If possible, I think that IKEDA would be best. However, this will require KONOYE's determination, according to Prince SAIONJI." KIDO approved of ABE, but he felt very uneasy about IKEDA and thought it dangerous.

I (HARADA) phoned YUASA, the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, and told him that HIROTA couldn't possibly be depended upon. The Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal said: "Is that how it is?"

On the 26th, I (HARADA) asked Councillor USHIO to come to Hakone. I discussed various matters with USHIO also, but he said: "It would be quite difficult with HIROTA."

At the same time, MATSUDAIRA, the Chief Secretary to the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, came from Tokyo. He said: "It would be quite distressing unless we get

a definite reply from HIROTA. Isn't there some way of making HIROTA decline voluntarily?"

I (HARADA) phoned HIROTA and said: "I talked to you for a short while yesterday. The Army is very clamorous, and you were worried about the Army. It would be advantageous in every respect if you would give us a definite answer." He replied: "The fact is, I was just thinking of phoning you and declining definitely. Will you please inform the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal that I do not have the confidence at this time." I transmitted his request to MATSUDAIRA; and MATSUDAIRA transmitted it to the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal.

The situation in Tokyo settled on the fact that Gen. ABE would carry on. KONOYE took two days but just couldn't make up his mind concerning IKEDA. He phoned me and said: "This matter isn't as bad as KIDO says. I have no objection concerning IKEDA. However, I cannot make up my mind to take the initiative and recommend IKEDA." His statement was rather nonsensical. However, since matters stood that way, it was finally settled unavoidably on Gen. ABE on the 27th.

The Emperor has his ideas on the matter. The Emperor felt deeply about it and said: "With ABE as Premier, a suitable War Minister should be appointed. Unless discipline in the Army is enforced, internal administration and foreign affairs will fail." It was the Emperor's idea that the Army would cooperate with ABE since he understood matters concerning the Army and to let him t- out.

The Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal expressed his approval in general. Although this cannot be told

RESTRICTED

anyone else, the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal had this point uppermost in his mind (that ABE would be able to secure the cooperation of the Army).

On the 28th, the Cabinet finally resigned en bloc, and the next Cabinet, it was generally decided, was to be headed by ABE. After the resignation, the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal said, in reply to the Emperor's inquiry: "I shall hold a conference with the Genro (Prince SAIONJI)." He came to the Genro's place at the command of the Emperor. Before the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal went, he talked to the President of the Privy Council at the Peers' Club. The President expressed his approval of ABE. He (Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal) then went to Gotemba with that plan. He reported the various particulars which had brought about the present developments. He returned with his (SAIONJI) approval. Around 9:30 p.m. on the 28th, Gen. ABE received the Imperial summons, and the Imperial command to form the next Cabinet fell to him. That night, I (HARADA) returned to Oiso. At 1:30 p.m. on the 30th, the names of the members of the Cabinet were presented to the Emperor. At 2:30 p.m., the investiture of the Premier took place, and at 3:30 p.m., the investiture of all of the members of the Cabinet.

On the morning of the 31st, I (HARADA) met the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal and was told various facts. "The Premier now holds the additional post of Foreign Minister. However, he will soon put someone in. At the time that Gen. ABE was ordered to form the new Cabinet, the Emperor was very indignant about the faults of the Army. He said: 'Even if they recommend a certain person for War Minister, as have been written up in the press,

I have no intention of accepting him.' He stated with a very grave attitude: 'UMEZU or HATA must be made Minister (War). Even if the 'Big Three' (Chief of General Staff, Inspector-General of Military Training, and War Minister) decide on someone else and submit it to me, I have no intention of allowing that choice. Carry out the affairs of state with the Constitution as the foundation. I think that it is to Japan's advantage to use England and the United States where our foreign policy is concerned. In such times as these, I have deep concern regarding the selection of the Ministers of Home Affairs, Justice, Foreign Affairs and Finance.' It was the Emperor's idea to put in, as War Minister, someone of his own choice. He felt deeply that he (War Minister) should cooperate with the Premier and purge the Army thoroughly, or diplomatic intercourse and internal administration would be impossible."

That same day at 8:30 p.m., I (HARADA) met the Premier. He said: "I was granted an audience by the Emperor and was asked about various matters. The Army finally selected Gen. HATA. The Emperor said: 'So the Army still doesn't like UMEZU.' He questioned me about each Cabinet Minister. He asked: 'NAGAI started the anti-British movement, but is he safe? Aren't the two posts of Minister of Railways and of Communications too much for NAGAI? Likewise, aren't the two posts of Minister of Commerce and Industry and of Agriculture too much for one person?' The Emperor seemed quite satisfied with OHARA as Home Minister. Regarding the others, he questioned me on each of his various anxieties. I was overawed, and answered each question.

Army Win Abe for Premier

"I had wondered whom to choose as Minister of Justice. I happened to meet HIRANUMA, the former Premier, two nights ago, and I told him that I was considering OHARA. HIRANUMA told me that he was connected with the theory of clarification of national polity and was, therefore, not suitable. Since it would be better to let the former Minister of Justice take the responsibility, I asked SHIONO who would be suitable as his successor. He said MIYAGI, and I chose MIYAGI. The Emperor stressed the point and asked me: 'Is he all right as Minister of Justice?' I said that SHIONO had two or three other candidates in mind, and he (MIYAGI) wasn't SHIONO's first candidate. However, it is said MIYAGI is a man of integrity and a reliable person with plenty of backbone. I said I would take sufficient precautions."

RESTRICTED

Saionji - Harada Memoirs

Chapter 339
(11 September 1939)

Ariwayo Suspected

Translated by Miss Miwako Yanamoto

As we (Premier and HARADA) talked further about various matters, I asked the Premier: "How did you get to know ENDO Ryusaku?" He replied: "I didn't know him until he came with an introduction from ARISUYE of the Army, and I met him two or three times somewhere. YOKOYAMA came from KONOYE's side to help. He said that he only came to help and didn't want to assume any post. I shall bring in IKEDA of Osaka as Chief of the Metropolitan Police Board." I (HARADA) was quite worried about this, and asked the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal about it when I saw him. The Lord Keeper knew IKEDA's faults, but said: "We'll control him as much as possible in letting him handle matters. It'll be safe."

During the Premier's conversation, he said: "I was quite distressed with KANAMITSU and NAGAI Ryutaro. NAGAI was especially difficult. I asked MACHIDA to apologize for me, and finally appointed NAGAI as had been predetermined. NAGAI often came to ARISUYE to inquire if his position was safe. In any event, it is a good thing that matters have generally subsided."

The Premier's determination to cooperate with the feelings of the Emperor and to obey his wishes to every extent is quite strong. Also, the War Minister, Gen. HATA, having been Chief Aide-de-Camp and close to the Emperor for awhile, knew well the points which were worrying the Emperor. He (War Minister) was also quite well aware of the outrageous features of the Army. It is a fact that

RESTRICTED

he joined the Cabinet with great determination. The only thing that is very regrettable is that the circumstances surrounding the Premier are very bad. ARISUYE is doing harm to him. Unless ARISUYE is separated from him, he will have difficulties. I thought the new War Minister should be warned about this point, and phoned the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal about this. I think that I shall talk to the War Minister myself when I have the chance. I think that Premier ABE himself was a good choice, but he has had no preparation for the position. Also, since he is an Army officer, I thought it very regrettable that his connections outside of the Army were bad.

On the morning of the 2nd, I (HARADA) went to Gotemba and reported the particulars since the last time. I said to Prince SAIONJI: "When you met the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal the other day, you told the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal: 'Anyone who has received an Imperial Command to form a Cabinet does not have the qualifications to become one unless he has tasted the bitter suffering of drinking three "to" (one "to" equivalent to 3.97 gallons) of vinegar through his nose.' The Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal mentioned that when Premier ABE first assumed his post and left the Imperial presence, he stopped in at the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal's place on his way home. His countenance then looked just like that (as if had drunk vinegar through his nose), and it seemed as if there were red vens all over his face." Prince SAIONJI laughed, but said: "It seems that he is sensible and his reputation is quite good." He was worried about foreign relations, but there was nothing in particular to talk about.

On the way home, I (HARADA) stopped at Hakone. I

RESTRICTED

met IKEDA and GO of the Councillors' group. They said: "The first approach of the Cabinet toward us was unfavorable," and made other such comments. However, it seemed that IKEDA and Baron GO had the feeling that they wanted to help as much as possible so that matters would be carried out justly. Therefore, I said: "Please guide them from the side so that they will carry on in a just manner. The problem of foreign relations is especially important, and I ask that you be extremely cautious."

After I (HARADA) returned to Oiso, I talked to MATSUDAIRA, the Chief Secretary to the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, by phone. MATSUDAIRA said: "I met KIDO just now, but he was very worried saying that the personnel of the Home Ministry was very bad. He is especially worried concerning the Chief of the Metropolitan Police Board and the Chief of the Police Bureau."

I (HARADA) called the Home Minister about three times, and talked to him on various matters. I stated that extremely discreet caution was required on personnel matters and urged reconsideration on personnel which was being determined at present. The Home Minister said: "The fact is, I am going to the Lord Keeper of Privy Seal's place tomorrow morning to pay my respects on the assumption of my post. At that time, I would like to ask about various matters for my reference. Since he was at the Home Ministry for a long time, I think he should be well acquainted with personnel matters. I think that I would like to question him on various points for my own information." I (HARADA) cautioned him: "That is very fine. However, I think it would be

well if you also found out further about the particulars concerning the formation of this Cabinet and also the important plans." The Home Minister rejoiced and said: "I would like to hear various things at leisure, and also tell him some things."

Therefore, after I (HARADA) ended the phone conversation, I talked to the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal and said: "The Home Minister is going to see you tomorrow morning. He said he would like to ask you about such and such matters. Please explain matters fully." The Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal replied: "I would like to talk to him by all means."

On the morning of the 3rd, Mr. and Mrs. ARITA came to Oiso. We ate together and spent the day in various activities. ARITA was still very worried about foreign affairs. The Army tried to carry out a military alliance with Germany and Italy, and the result was like that. It ended in failure. Now the group that had changed from the left wing to the right wing was the prime power behind the movement to have Japan join the German-Russo Non-Aggression Pact and to strike at England with the military alliance between Japan, Germany and Russia. This group was quite dangerous. There was a group in the Army that was responding to this movement.

ARITA said: "A full-time Foreign Minister must be appointed soon. Since there are various movements within (the Foreign Ministry) and this is unfavorable, why not talk to Premier ABE to appoint one as soon as possible?" I (HARADA) said to ARITA: "You are well acquainted with ABE so why not see him yourself and talk to him?" ARITA replied: "I have promised to see him once more very

RESTRICTED

soon. I shall see him soon."

On the night of the 4th, I (HARADA) went to Tokyo. Early on the morning of the 5th, I visited Premier ABE at his private residence. I talked about various conditions within the Foreign Ministry. I told him that it would be better to appoint a full-time Foreign Minister. He said: "There is no one suitable for the position in the Foreign Ministry. I am considering whether I should bring in NOMURA of the Navy." I replied. "I think that NOMURA will be a good choice from the standpoint of United States and England. However, you will have to put in a specialist who is pretty reliable as Vice-Minister. He (NOMURA) is a very fine person from the standpoint of thoughts, tendencies, and ability. Also, he can speak English. In my opinion, I think NOMURA would be very good. In any event, the Chief of the Asia Bureau is running the Foreign Ministry by himself. SAWADA is too quiet, and can do nothing about it. You must be very careful of that point."

On the way home, I (HARADA) dropped in at former Premier HIRANUMA's place. Following that, I visited KIDO. He said: "I still wonder if IKEDA, the Chief of the Metropolitan Police Board, is capable. AOKI, the new Finance Minister, came and told me that NAGAI got up at the Cabinet meeting the other day and gave quite a speech for friendship with Germany. GODO added his approval. The matter was settled somewhat when the Premier expressed his views against it. That is the story, and it is very distressing."

Early the next morning, I (HARADA) visited Home Minister OHARA. We discussed various matters. He said:

"I shall explain the situation well to IKEDA and HOMMA. I shall caution them in the future and intend to see that no errors are made. It is said that HIRANUMA suggested that SHIONO be retained as Minister of Justice. I think such a story is very bad. I cannot tell this too much to others, but when I had an Imperial audience, the Emperor said: 'OHARA did very well when he was Minister of Justice. Please do your best this time as Home Minister.' I was deeply moved." For his information, I (HARADA) told him various facts, such as matters of concern to the Foreign Minister, the connection between the Chief Secretary of the Cabinet and ARISUYE and the attitude of ARISUYE who is trying to place the Premier under obligation to him as if he had created this Cabinet. Home Minister OHARA said: "I shall be careful from now on. I understand very well now."

On the way home, I (HARADA) visited YONAI, the former Navy Minister, at Shibuya. I thanked him for his great assistance while he was in office. YONAI said: "Before the political change, Admiral ARIMA came over. He repeatedly said that he would like to have SHODA Kazue, as Premier by all means and that SHODA Kazue, was all right in every respect. I told him that in the first place, I had only seen SHODA Kazue's face from a distance and didn't know him well. Not only that, I am the Navy Minister at present. Even if you come to my place and ask me to approve of a succeeding Cabinet, I cannot say anything about such a matter. That in itself might be considered a movement to overthrow the Cabinet. If an Imperial Command is given, no matter to whom it is, I intend to help that person regardless of whether I like

~~RESTRICTED~~

him or hate him. If you were from the Navy, I do not think that you should become involved in such a matter, speaking from the standpoint of Navy tradition. I bluntly told this to Gen. ARIMA. He unavoidably went next to Vice-Minister YAMAMOTO's place and gave the same story. Vice-Minister YAMAMOTO finally sent Gen. ARIMA home after giving, by chance, almost an identical reply."

I (HARADA) told Admiral YONAI about ARISUYE. He said: "Isn't ARISUYE supposed to be a ghost by now?" He is the man who said that if the Japan-German-Italian military alliance couldn't be made, he would commit hara-kiri. There is to be a dinner in the Imperial presence on the 12th for both the new and the old Cabinet Ministers. After that is over, I think I shall go to worship at Ise and then travel a bit. I'll see you again at leisure sometime soon." I parted with him and returned home. Admiral YOANI was very cheerful.

At noon on the 6th, INUKAI returned from Shanghai. TANI. MATSUDAIRA, SAIONJI Kinkazu and I had a leisurely dinner with him and listened to the various stories of INUKAI. He said: "The most troublesome thing is to turn the people of the next generation toward friendship with Japan. That next generation group is the one most active in their anti-Japan beliefs. We must tell them that if they go along with Japan, Japan will want them to act in such and such a manner and that it is for our mutual benefit, showing two or three concrete and actual examples. They will not understand unless we realistically commit concrete and kind deeds to prove that we are doing them for the happiness of the Chinese and the Chinese nation. It is impossible to expect true friendly

RESTRICTED

feelings toward Japan if we suppress them by blustering as we are doing now. Even if we are to help WANG Ching-wei, we must be determined to set forth deeds which will make it easier for WANG to carry out his duties and those which will inspire him to lay the foundation for a good government with his own ideas and not with the guidance of Japan."

We talked until around 3:30 p.m. On our way home, TANI said he would come to visit me at my home in Tokyo. TANI was also very worried about the Foreign Ministry. When I met Ambassador SATO at IWANAGA's wake last night, he had said: "The Ambassadors, who are the seniors of the Foreign Ministry, met at the Diplomatic Association today. They said that the situation, as it was in the Foreign Ministry, was very distressing and something must be done. Ambassador OBATA came also, and the Ambassadors requested OBATA to explain the circumstances to Premier and concurrently Foreign Minister ABE. Unless the Ministry is put in order internally, the Chief of the Asia Bureau will team up with the Army and stir up matters from within. This contains untold dangers." I related what was said to TANI.

I (HARADA) called Secretary OKUMURA of the Foreign Ministry, and we three discussed various matters as we had dinner. OKUMURA stated: "It was brought up at the Foreign Ministry meeting that we should notify the leading Powers today that we want the belligerent nations to withdraw their troops and warships from territory occupied by Japan or under Japan's power. The one who began this discussion was the Chief of the Asia Bureau. If this goes well, then the troops of

RESTRICTED

United States will come into the leased territories and other places. There were various discussions about the necessity of the Japanese troops taking over such places in strength before they come in. The Army, Navy, and the Foreign Ministry consulted together on the matter. At that time I (OKUMURA, Secretary) absolutely opposed that. I said that such a thing wasn't necessary now. Even if you talk of warships and troops of belligerent nations, only England and France would become the objects. Germany has no troops or warships (in China), and Italy is neutral. Japan will be accused of supporting Germany and oppressing England and France, etc. The timing is bad, and it would be better to drop it. Recently, Japan announced that she would not participate in the war in France. The French Ambassador was overjoyed, and has lately solved many of the pending items. For example, there was a rather important problem concerning the water routes in Indo-China. He has solved some rather difficult problems that we have had until now. Since he has been so happy, the problem is very delicate. I told them that there was no need to hurry the matter right now, but they wouldn't listen to me. It is truly regrettable."

Secretary OKUMURA also said: "On the morning of the 5th, there were orders issued by the Army and Navy telling their men in China to refrain from any military action. That was very good, but the situation is still so precarious that it is distressing. Because of things like this, a full-time Foreign Minister must be appointed as soon as possible, or it is possible that the present Chief of the Asia Bureau might not unwillingly carry out

RESTRICTED

some very dangerous acts, incited by the Army. It is rumored that they are even saying that there is no need to appoint a Foreign Minister and why not do as much as they please while they can before the Foreign Minister appears. SAWADA has no power and can do nothing. Due to these points, we want a Foreign Minister soon."

It was quite late that night so I (HARADA) stayed over in Tokyo. The next morning, I left Shimbashi on a very early train to escort Prince SAIONJI who was moving from Gotemba to Okitsu. From Kozu, I got on the train that Prince SAIONJI was going to ride. I greeted Prince SAIONJI at Gotemba, and we reached Okitsu around noon. We had no mishaps and Prince SAIONJI was very cheerful.

That evening, I (HARADA) returned to Oiso. I left past noon on the 8th and went to Karuizawa. I staved over for about two nights, and met KONOYE and IZAWA and talked over various matters with them. It seemed as if the groups that had rightist tendencies were coming over to KONOYE's place and were intimidating him. KONOYE said: "The other day ISHIHARA Kaichiro came over and repeatedly said that this Cabinet wouldn't last longer than two months. He stated that after about two months, an incident like the Feb. 26 Incident will surely occur. I am wondering if something really won't happen." I (HARADA) replied: "That's all right. If something does happen, it can be taken care of very well. If the matter can't be disposed of, then the next person can take care of it. Since the person who is trying to start a disturbance is spreading the rumor that something might

RESTRICTED

happen, don't join with him."

KONOYE continued: "Looking at the various circumstances, it seems as if ABE himself didn't know anything about it, but those around him - especially ARISUYE - were getting prepared beforehand (to push ABE forward as Premier)." I (HARADA) replied: "That is just the way it was. I am confident that ABE himself did not start various preparations in anticipation of an Imperial Order coming to him. Originally, it seemed that Gen. ABE approved of the opinion that it would be a good idea for Japan to get together with the Soviet and Germany and strike at England. Everyone was very worried about that point. However, now that he has finally stepped in, we have found out that there was no need to worry so much and have been put at ease. At any rate, he is a layman in foreign affairs and doesn't understand diplomacy. That is why everyone is saying that someone who is reliable should be appointed to help him."

KONOYE was quite worried that the political parties and people in various circles were saying that this Cabinet would only last about two months. He said: "Please think ahead about the next Cabinet." I (HARADA) said to KONOYE: "At any rate, all kinds of people come to see you. You probably don't have to meet them all. However, if you see them, you had better be careful. Please be cautious because your every word and action has a great deal of influence."

The next night, when I (HARADA) met IZAWA Takio, he said: "Last night, the new Premier and the chief members of the House of Peers dined together at Hoshigaoka and discussed various matters. ABE has a lot of common sense

RESTRICTED

and good judgment. That choice was very good."

In the evening of the 10th, I (HARADA) returned to Oiso. However, I phoned the Home Minister immediately regarding the story about ISHIHARA Koichiro and warned him about it.

RESTRICTED

Saionji - Harada Memoirs

Chapter 340
(10 September 1939)

Nomura for Foreign Minister

Translated by S/Sgt George Kakehashi

On the 11th, I telephoned the Minister of Home Affairs and told him: "The intelligentsia is concerned saying that it would not do unless a full-time Foreign Minister is appointed. As a Cabinet Minister, I want you to work on this matter."

On the 12th, Captain TAKAGI of the Navy came and stated: "The Army came unofficially with the following proposal: 'Prince NASHIMOTO to be made the Governor-General of China, that is, the Commander-in-Chief of the Expeditionary Forces in China; with ITAGAKI placed under him. The China Fleets are also to be placed under the command of that headquarters. The Chief of the China Section of the General Staff Headquarters will also go to China. By this move, it is hoped that the whole issue will be settled.' But, the Navy answered that it opposed the placing of China Fleets under that command. Then, at the Army Headquarters in North China, there is a movement to negotiate a direct peace with CHIANG Kai-shek through the good offices of an American named STUART and WANG Ko-min. This seems to be in the nature of breaking relations with WANG Ching-wei in the South, so it is necessary to take extreme caution. Then, a searching inquiry came from Secretary (of State) HULL concerning our request. This was that in the World War in which Japan participated, no one demanded the withdrawal of troops from the concessions."

On the 16th, I met the Lord Keeper of the Privy

RESTRICTED

Seal and he said: "At the time of the formation of the Cabinet, Chief Cabinet Secretary ENDO presented the following three points at the request of the Army: first, to keep the number of the Cabinet Ministers under ten; second, not to include anyone from the Mitsui clique, namely, not to include IKEDA; and third, not to select the Foreign Minister from the Foreign Ministry. To the newspaper reporters, it was announced that ARISUYE, the Chief of the Military Affairs Section, agreed on those three points. It is very absurd!" Moreover, in regard to NAGAI Ryutaro, he said: "In recent years, the supply of coal has become extremely low. After the organization of the (Japan) Electricity Distribution Co. Ltd., voices of dissent were raised against NAGAI on such points. Furthermore, since the Premier is able and understands (the situation) more fully every day, I think that it will improve gradually."

Furthermore, I also saw the Premier that day, and he said: "It is my desire to be received in audience by the Emperor as often as I can and dutifully serve the Emperor so that His Majesty need not worry. The War Minister also is earnest in his efforts and is going to take every precaution concerning matters within the Foreign Office. However, the group, which formed itself under SHIRATORI, is very troublesome. This has reached the point where they bring petitions saying: 'Make SHIRATORI the Foreign Minister!' It is outrageous!"

On the 17th, Admiral NOMURA came to Oiso and he said: "The fact is, the Premier came to me on Thursday and requested that I accept the post of Foreign Minister. I told him that I was concerned about two issues. One is

that large-scale operations are in progress along the Soviet-Manchukuo border, and the intentions of the Soviet are unknown. It seems that the Kwantung Army is bent on carrying on war with the Soviets. If there is no power to restrain the Kwantung Army from such moves; in other words, if the Army cannot maintain control and permits the Kwantung Army to carry this out, then I can not serve as the Foreign Minister. This issue is my greatest concern. When I told the Premier this, he definitely said: "The commander-in-chief has been changed, and since it is planned to change the staff officers also, there need be no concern on that issue.' Moreover, the other issue is that the Crown Prince will enter the Peers' School next year. I fear that it is undesirable to change the Principal (of school) now. The Premier said: 'I have confidence, so don't worry.'"

Admiral NOMURA also said: "At first, I had no intention of accepting the post; however, because of its importance I went to consult with Grand Chamberlain SUZUKI; that is, Admiral SUZUKI Kantaro. Admiral SUZUKI, whom I thought would stop me, encouraged me and said: 'Accept it at once.' Admiral OKADA also said: 'It is better to accept.' Admiral YONAI also was of the same opinion. Thus, I considered various angles, but since the times being such, I am considering the post. But, in regard to that, I intend to follow a middle course and never indulge in any dangerous acts or spectacular undertakings. In any case, I have no other thought than to correct that which has been overdone, and I believe that the path which Japan must take is the middle course." I (HARADA) said: "Of course, I know that you

RESTRICTED

are not the type of individual who accepts the position after considering whether the duration of the Cabinet will be long or short. Since there is little need for personal conc n at this time, whether it be long or sh rt, or how many difficulties may arise, I think that yo should offer yourself and accept the post with the pur ose of aiding His Majesty." Thereupon, Admiral NOMURA said: "I think that I will decide as such, but I merely came to speak about it." Then I spoke about the various phases of the Foreign Office, and we separated.

On the 18th, when I saw the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal at the Palace, he said: "In regard to Admiral NOMURA for Foreign Minister, His Majesty and I agree in general with the opinion of the Premier. His Majesty said: 'Ask what the opinion of the Minister of the Imperial Household is.' Therefore, I asked the Minister of the Imperial Household, who said: 'No matter what the standards wer previously, diplomacy is a special case. Therefore, I think that a specialist is needed. However, aside from the specialists, Admiral NOMURA is the leading candidate. Of course, though different from KONOYE or UGAKI, I think NOMURA, even though he is from the Navy, is well qualified. I think there should be nothing amazing in the fact of an admiral becoming a Foreign Minister, and again, should there be such feelings, it will be just a matter of time. Anyway, it won't do unless the Foreign Office changes its vice-minister.' His Majesty said: 'If it is for the sake of the nation, the concern over the Peers' School should not matter.'"

The Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal continued: "I

RESTRICTED

think that SHIGEMITSU and TOGO are very suitable; however, each has faults. Besides, it won't do to force the withdrawal of TOGO, who is now the Ambassador to Russia. If if is Admiral NOMURA, he can exert considerable influence, but in any case, he must be careful at first. Moreover, His Majesty said to me: ' I think the Army may take a little time; however, control can gradually be restored. When the organizations of the Army and of the Foreign Office become fixed, then the situation will certainly become better.' Recently, when ABE was the Foreign Minister, His Majesty said: 'It will not do unless we change the Director of the Asia Bureau.' Thus, the Foreign Minister was greatly surprised, and I, who heard that story, was surprised also." In such a manner, His Majesty was concerned greatly about the matters of diplomacy and the Army.

On my way back, I went to the Minister of the Imperial Household's room and conversed with him on various matters, and he also expressed similar opinions (as those of the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal). Then, when I returned to Oiso, a telephone call came from KONOYE saying: "I'm in Hakone today. Why not come over for a visit?" Thereupon, I replied: "I'll have to go to Okitsu tomorrow, so I shall stop by tonight on my way." That evening, I went to Hakone and dined with KONOYE in Yumoto and spent the night there. Early the following morning I left for Okitsu.

At 10:00 a.m. on the 19th, I met the Prince (SAIONJI) and related the matter of filling the vacant post of Foreign Minister and the general state of affairs. The Prince said: "Those ambassadors and ministers who are

RESTRICTED

receiving orders abroad; that is, the delegates of the Emperor; must believe that they are representing the nation. Moreover, speaking of it more broadly, I think it is desirable to have them hold the belief that they are aiding the progress of mankind. Men such as IWAKURA, OKUMA and MORI Yurei have had these qualities and in more recent years, men such as TAKAHASHI and SAITO have become political martyrs. I believe it is desirable to have this courageous quality of 'dare to sacrifice' among our statesmen. Well, this is strictly confidential, but when I saw a telegram like the following in the Foreign Office, I just cannot bear to stand by and watch. For example: in Berlin, Ambassador OSHIMA is being greatly encouraged by RIBBENTROP to have Japan conclude a non-aggression pact with Russia. OSHIMA has agreed unconditionally and considers it a great success. His attitude is disloyal to his own Emperor. To TOGO, who is in Russia, the same proposition has been made by the German Ambassador in Moscow. However, he has refused it skillfully, saying: 'This is an extremely important matter. I cannot answer it at this very moment. Besides, isn't Germany in midst of a war? I question whether Japan should take such a stand in relation with a warring nation.' In such way, he skillfully avoided the issue. Truly, TOGO is a statesman.

"Germany is a federation (of states), and long ago, Prussia was the largest state. Because there was such a great statesman as BISMARCK, it was possible to organize the entire country, and eventually assume leadership in Western Europe. However, since it is a federated union, it was powerful at one time, but it will not continue.

Therefore, the Foreign Office must consider the interpretation of history. Moreover, due to the recklessness of our troops overseas, other Japanese seem to bear resentment against His Majesty, and we must take extreme care. I think that the movement of making His Majesty the victim of such resentment is the work of the Communists. Extreme caution must be used in regard to that."

When I told the Prince that it would be well to issue an Imperial rescript regarding politics to the people, the Prince said: "At any rate, I would like to clarify the will of His Majesty." I (HARADA) am of the opinion that the clarification on the following points is desirable. First, the clarification of His Majesty's will on matters relating to politics. Second, that His Majesty is always concerned about his people and that the various despotic measures are not the will of His Majesty. In other words, in the first place, it is necessary to use the Constitution as the basis in all cases. In the second place, the general policy of diplomacy; and thirdly, the necessity of receiving an Imperial rescript including the fact of His Majesty's sympathy for the people. Since I had spoken of those points previously to the Minister of Home Affairs and to the Premier, I related them to the Prince. The Prince said: "The composition must be simple so that it will be understood by the people. Great care must be taken on the composition."

On the afternoon of the 19th, KONOYE came to visit me at Oiso, so we went out together in an automobile and after taking a meal en route, I returned to Oiso. I also related the Prince's conversation to KONOYE, and he (KONOYE) said that he was of the same sentiments.

Saionji - Harada Memoirs

Chapter 341
(2 October 1939)

Problems Confronting Abe

Translated by S/Sgt George Kakehashi

On the morning of the 21st, Finance Minister AOKI came and said: "At the first Cabinet meeting, NAGAI and others were involved in heated discussion concerning the pro-German policy of Japan. However, it was my contention that due to the existing economic and industrial conditions, Japan must appease the United States and England, especially the United States, whose friendship Japan can utilize to her great advantage. It is imperative that we maintain cordial relations with her."

IWAKURA, of the House of Peers came later and said: "The impression of the members of the House of Peers toward the new Cabinet is very favorable."

On the night of the 21st, I invited Admiral NOMURA, Ambassador SATO and Gen. ARAKI to dinner. Later, this group was joined by MATSUDAIRA and MUSHAKOJI. We conversed on various matters as we dined. It was said that there is a movement to dissolve the Tri-Partite Military Alliance and conclude a Japanese-Soviet Non-Aggression Pact, and later include Germany. Thus, forming a Japanese-German-Soviet Military Alliance. It seems the Anti-Comintern Pact is going to vanish into thin air. The formation of a Japanese-German-Soviet Alliance will strike a crushing blow against the Anglo-Saxons was the argument advocated by the famous Admiral TIRPITZ. It is said that this argument still survives in Germany, but it is not very favourable for Japan. Hence, Admiral NOMURA has said repeatedly to Gen. ARAKI: "I would like to have you and

RESTRICTED

others concentrate on dispelling any proposal for the concluding of a non aggression pact with Russia or for striking a blow against the Anglo-Saxons by the combined forces of Japan, Germany and the Soviet.

On the 23rd, I called on Minister of Home Affairs OHARA and discussed such matters as the problem of drafting the Imperial rescript which will thoroughly cover His Majesty's will; the checkmating of the secretive and hazardous diplomacy and save the government through the efforts of Gen. ARAKI; and my conversation with the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal about the Imperial rescript. Then, I returned.

During the course of the conversation, Minister OHARA said: "Gen. ARAKI, himself, may not know of the matter, but there is still a report that the ARAKI group is agitating for the overthrow of the Cabinet." Thereupon, I said: "That is indeed an odd statement for the relations between Gen. ARAKI and Gen. ABE are very cordial. From the individual or public viewpoint, there shouldn't be such reports, but.... There are such rumors."

On the way back, I visited Premier ABE and said: "The fact is, when I went to see the Minister of Home Affairs the other day, he mentioned the movements of Gen. ARAKI to overthrow the Cabinet. When I visited Gen. ARAKI and questioned him, I discovered it isn't actually so. Because of such reasons, is it necessary for the government to be much more cautious against those who seem to harbour relatively good will and those who seem to be deceived by these lowly elements. Is it necessary for the government to tighten up."

RESTRICTED

The Premier said: "As a matter of fact, I have been pondering about Gen. ARAKI. Since there is a vacancy among the State Councillors, I think it is desirable to have Gen. ARAKI fill that vacancy. I would like to have the investiture of the Foreign Minister as soon as possible, but have not quite made the arrangements yet. Since we are trying to do everything at once, it will be delayed slightly; however, I think the ceremony can be held on the 25th. Since His Majesty is concerned, I must call on him and explain the situation."

Since it was just prior to Premier ABE's departure to the Imperial Palace to attend the Festival of the Autumnal Equinox, I left without any further conversation. Following that, I telephoned Admiral NOMURA and told him about the state of affairs since our last meeting.

Early on the morning of the 24th, I visited Gen. ARAKI and inquired: "You may not know of this yourself, but I heard this from certain government circles. Whether it be the actions of those who are your followers, or whether it be the actions of those who oppose you to cause you harm, I think the actions are very unpleasant. How about it?" He said: "Recently, I have stopped lectures entirely and do not appear any place. I have been eluding the people purposely in order to avoid meeting them. I am careful because such things are likely to be said: However, what you said is a surprise to me. I hold the present government in high esteem. The fact that I am involved in the movement to overthrow the Cabinet is actually a misrepresentation, and that is distressing." So, I said: "Well, anyway, in order to avoid such

trivial rumors, I am thinking of speaking to the government (officials) to obtain information from the influential officials of the Metropolitan Police and the Police Bureau from time to time, so that such activities can be easily checked by the government. This will also clarify your position." Gen. ARAKI's comment was: "I wish to have that done immediately."

Then, I met the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal and told him: "I spoke to Minister of Home Affairs OHARA about the Imperial Rescript in detail, and he said: 'The discussion about the Imperial Rescript is difficult, but I want to insert it in my instructions to the Prefectural Governors at their next conference. I wish to limit my speech to the matters which concerns the will of the Emperor on general political affairs. In regard to this, I would like to have a discussion with the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal.'"

The Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal desired the immediate appointment of a Foreign Minister and said: "This is also the wish of His Majesty. It is said that the Navy wants to place Admiral YAMANASHI as the Principal of the Peers School...." Since I felt that Admiral YAMANASHI Katsunoshin was an exceedingly suitable individual, I so told the Lord Privy Seal.

Then, I saw ex-Navy Minister YONAI and told him about the suitability of pressing Admiral YAMANASHI for the principalship of the Peers School, and Admiral YONAI was very much of the same opinion. I requested Admiral YONAI to telephone Minister of the Imperial Household MATSUDAIRA about the matter, the reason being that the judgment of the Minister of the Imperial Household is

very sound, but he is very slow in making his decisions. Thus, it would be more suitable for Admiral YONAI, an intimate friend, to tell him (MATSUDAIRA).

Admiral YONAI said: "As a matter of fact, in the early part of August under the previous Cabinet, the War Minister seemed to have considerable difficulty with the Nomonhan Incident. In brief, he wanted that incident to be settled by diplomatic negotiations. In other words, to open diplomatic negotiations between Japan and Russia to suspend the Nomonhan conflict and agree to end the conflict. As far as I am concerned, why didn't he announce the intentions of the Army to create this incident at the Five Ministers' Conference? There wasn't anything the Five Ministers' Conference was able to do after the Army started and bungled it. It was a very distasteful situation to start the incident without mentioning it, and then to bring up the problem after they bungled it. I said: 'Wouldn't it be better to carry on until the boundary is restored?' The War Minister withdrew. Ultimately, it ended in our defeat and it is indeed regrettable."

At noon of the same day, I met TANI and spoke to him on various matters of the Foreign Office. It seems that TANI, as the Vice-Minister, is determined to purge the Foreign Office.

Early on the morning of the 25th, I visited Finance Minister AOKI. Since Privy Councillor SHIMIZU's residence was in the neighborhood, I stopped by. I listened to his opinions and received the same in writing on the following points: (1), the procedure on petitioning the Emperor in regard to a succeeding Cabinet; (2), revisions pertaining to the organization and the functions of the

Office of the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal; and (3), revisions pertaining to Cabinet organization.

On the 27th, I met the Prince at Okitsu and reported to him all that which had happened until now. First of all, I related the particulars in regard to the investiture of the Foreign Minister. It is said that Gen. TERAUCHI is visiting Berlin to inspect the Eastern and Western fronts, but the War Minister is greatly annoyed by his action. It was said that Gen. TERAUCHI is visiting Germany in a private capacity, but according to some source, a group of young officers in Tokyo are boasting: "We are the ones who sent TERAUCHI to visit Germany. We are the ones who are using TERAUCHI." Having heard that report from IKEDA Seihin, I telephoned the Foreign Minister and asked the reasons for such a statement. When I suggested that he remind the War Minister to be careful, he said: "It seems that the War Minister is also greatly distressed over the matter. However, since TERAUCHI is to sail home from Naples without visiting Moscow, do not be concerned."

Then, I informed the Prince that the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal had said that His Majesty is awaiting the revision of the organization of the two Ministries. That is, to bring about control within the War Ministry, and to enable the Foreign Office to exert efficient control within itself. I also stated the significance of the need to explain His Majesty's will at the roundtable discussion of the Prefectural Governors' Conference.

The Prince said: "When the Minister of Home Affairs speaks of the conversation between His Majesty and himself to the Prefectural Governors to familiarize them

with His Majesty's will, or to transmit His Majesty's will to the people, it is better that he obtains Imperial sanction beforehand." Such was the Prince's caution, so I intend to return and tell the Minister of Home Affairs of this.

Furthermore, at the time the Foreign Trade Ministry is to be established, though changes of function within the Foreign Office cannot be helped, the Foreign Office will not be stripped of its authority to conclude international or commercial treaties. Moreover, since it will require considerable time until the Foreign Trade Ministry is established, various studies will be conducted from now. Furthermore, Finance Minister AOKI said: 'The enforcement of the national mobilization law will expand the authority of the Premier. I shall caution the Premier so that he will not follow the course of reckless unrestricted dogmatism of dictatorship.' This was what Finance Minister AOKI, who is concurrently the President of the Planning Board, said.

Then, I informed the Prince about the Nomonhan Incident. The Prince was already well informed about it. The Prince said: "The Nomonhan Incident and various other activities are executed under the pretense of His Majesty's command. It seems that there is an extremely strong atmosphere of resentment against His Majesty among the soldiers and non-military personnel who are working abroad. We must take extreme precaution about such matters." I told the Prince: "In comparing the power of the artillery at the time of the Nomonhan Incident, the range of the Japanese artillery was greatly inferior to that of the other side."

The Prince was worried and said: "We must recall Ambassador OSHIMA from Berlin as soon as possible because alarming reports are becoming numerous. Is it not distressing to have complications so repeatedly? It seems that the ambassadors and the ministers are taking the advice of the military attaches abroad, rather than obeying the directives of the Foreign Office. This too, is a distressing situation. As we mentioned previously, the atmosphere of resentment abroad against His Majesty is mounting. This too, is distressing.... And then, I don't think that the Foreign Minister will appoint MATSUOKA as the Ambassador to the United States, but the individual to send to a country like United States, in order to restore the confidence of the nation, had better be an individual upon whom great confidence can be placed." Such were the ideas expressed by the Prince.

I returned to Oiso on the 28th and rested. From Oiso, I telephoned the Foreign Minister and the Minister of Home Affairs and related my conversation with the Prince. Furthermore, MATSUDAIRA, the Chief Secretary to the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, came, so I spoke of the conversation in general to him and requested him to convey it to the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal.

On the night of the 30th, when I visited IKEDA Seihin at his villa in Oiso, he said: "The question of the Minister of Commerce and Industry occupying the post of the Minister of Agriculture and Forestry concurrently is distressing. I think this is a troublesome matter. I heard that SHIRATORI and his group, such as MATSUMIYA and KURIHARA, recently assembled some Army and Navy men

at the Takara-tei and denounced both NOMURA and TANI. The Navy group was invited, but no one was present. Thus, it was the action of the conspirators of only part of the Army and of the MATSUMIYA-KURIHARA group. It won't do for Admiral NOMURA not to know of this fact." So, I (HARADA) said: "I shall inform Admiral NOMURA by telephone, but when you see him in Tokyo, please inform him of it also." Then, on the 1st of the following month (October), I informed Foreign Minister NOMURA of the fact, and also Vice-Minister TANI.

On the same day, ex-Minister of Agriculture and Forestry SAKURAUCHI came to Oiso for a visit and spoke of various matters. He said: "The question of the Minister of Agriculture and Forestry is very annoying. The other day, a group connected with the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry invited the Minister of Agriculture and Forestry and denounced him severely. Since it is the policy that the Minister cannot resign, it is a troublesome problem. If it is like this until the end of next year, the situation will become critical. Since the rationing of rice does not go smoothly, there are but three or four days supply in Tokyo."

Concerning the afore-mentioned Nomonhan Incident, he stated: "Out of nearly 40,000 men, it seems that the actual fact is that the Army lost 35,000 to 36,000 men. In regard to this, many were selected from various areas, especially from Kyushu. With Kumamoto as the center, men came from Kagoshima and Kurume, but there were some from (the) Kanto (area). Moreover, that blunder has a bad influence on the Manchurians. It is said that the Manchurian soldiers, who had seen the superiority of Soviet

power before their very eyes, have returned home and are propagating that fact to everyone. Thus, it is said that Manchuria is also in a bad state of affairs."

Furthermore, he said: "Unless something is done about the political parties, they will not be able to cope with the various problems which will confront them at the coming Diet session. The situation in its present condition would not do." Such was the concern of SAKURAUCHI, but I said to him: "Please be the man-behind-the-scenes, and assist us so as to aid the present Cabinet."

On the morning of the 2nd, I again visited IKEDA and requested him to tell Foreign Minister NOMURA any matters which might come to his attention when he meets him tomorrow. IKEDA said: "Whatever it is said, the atmosphere in United States is not good. The cause for that is that, then Vice-Minister SAWADA of the Foreign Office, informed the respective ambassadors and ministers of the various nations that Japan desires to have the military forces and warships of belligerent countries withdrawn from the Japanese occupied areas. At that time, when its substance was explained, the Chief of the Asia Bureau, KURIHARA, boldly confronted the French Counselor and said: "Japan is doing it to exclude Anglo-French power from China." Thus, that was transmitted from Paris to London, and then from London to Washington. Whereupon, Secretary of State HULL indignantly voiced his dissatisfaction and questioned HORINOUCHI. The atmosphere in United States became very bad and it was like oil being poured on fire. That is a distressing matter.

"At the meeting of the Privy Council the other day,

RESTRICTED

there was a heated discussion about the matter of strengthening the authority of the Premier. The Director of the Bureau of Legislation and nearly all of the Ministers were not able to give satisfactory replies. Thus, it seems that the Premier will offer explanations and setthe the matter, but since this has been promulgated already as an Imperial Ordinance with Imperial sanction, nothing can be done about it. These points, especially the problem of the Minister of Commerce and Industry holding the post of Minister of Agriculture and Forestry concurrently, and the problem of strengthening the authority of the Premier now confronting the Privy Council, expose the weakness of the present Cabinet, and remain as very perplexing matters." Having discussed such matters I parted from IKEDA.

RESTRICTED

Saionji - Harada Memoirs

Chapter 342
(19 October 1939)

Foreign Office Men Balk

Translated by S/Sgt George Kakehashi

On the 3rd, I visited the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal and he stated: It seems that the problem before the Privy Council is considerably difficult, and when the announcement about expanding the authority of the Premier was made, Count KANEKO, just about said that he was the guardian of the Constitution, and declared: 'If it can be done in the Cabinet, is it necessary to bring the matter to the Privy Council? If it cannot be done in the Cabinet, since it is an essential amendment, then it must be brought before the Privy Council.' However, the facts of the past days revealed that there were many problems which were even more important than this one and which were solved in the Cabinet. The Privy Council has not realized this fact yet. And then, the Nomonhan Incident has left deep impressions on the public mind, and I think that it will become an extremely heated problem in the future."

After that, I met the Minister of Home Affairs to inquire about the various comments made by the newspaper reporters on the fact that the Minister of Home Affairs said that the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal said that: 'Since this Cabinet is the one recommended by His Majesty, criticisms are not permitted." However, this was not so.

Moreover, the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal had said: "The other day His Majesty said: 'MATSUOKA was opposed to seceding from the League from the very

RESTRICTED

beginning. I remember his slandering UCHIDA by saying: 'At that time, Foreign Minister UCHIDA was shallow-minded.'"

Having impaired my health a little, I left for Okitsu on the evening of the 4th with the intention of spending about one month for recuperation. On the morning of the 5th, I telephoned the Minister of Home Affairs and spoke to him about the complications of the Foreign Office; namely, that the main points of the Ministry of Foreign Trade were decided by the Cabinet and that it was announced as the decision reached at the Cabinet meeting. This was to take the Exchange Bureau from the Finance Ministry, the Bureau of Foreign Trade from the Ministry of Commerce and Industry, and the Bureau of Commercial Affairs from the Foreign Office; and to form the Ministry of Foreign Trade by consolidating these bureaus. Since it seems that it was announced that the commerical attaches are to be placed under the Minister of Foreign Trade, the Foreign Office group, having lost the authority over the Asia Development Board, previously at the time of Foreign Minister UGAKI, and now again facing the loss of the Bureau of Commercial Affairs, became highly worried. However, that plan took on a concrete form.

On the morning of October 5th, when I telephoned and asked MATSUDAIRA, the Chief Secretary to the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, about this, he said: "Since there are many in the Foreign Office whose efforts are sincere in solving the problem, it will be distressing to have the administration carry on by persisting in suppression only. Again, it is not good for the government to give money to the newspapers and bribe them. I think it is

necessary for the Premier to call a committee meeting and deliberate on the requests and views of the Foreign Office."

Moreover, when I telephoned and asked the Minister of Home Affairs, he said: "The Foreign Office insists that the Bureau of Commercial Affairs be left under its organization, and furthermore, that the authority to appoint and to dismiss the commercial attaches be kept under the jurisdiction of the Foreign Minister. As previously stated, it comes from a rational point of view. However, since it is not favorable from the standpoint of the ethics of government officials, the intention is to suppress it to some extent."

Then, even when I telephoned Foreign Minister NOMURA and asked about the situation, he said: "My position is already set, and since it is a matter which already has been decided politically, I am not able to do any more than that." Thus, it seemed that he was placing stress on the decision of the Cabinet.

When I asked Finance Minister AOKI, he said: "Actually, since the War Minister is to travel to Manchukuo, and the Minister of Overseas Affairs is to take a trip, this problem was decided upon at an emergency Cabinet meeting. Such actions are not very satisfactory. When I asked the Premier about the situation, he just said that he will make some arrangements. However, he had a very strong opinion that as a precedent, regardless of the good or bad of the matter itself, such mass activity on the part of government officials is not good."

When I spoke to IKEDA Seihin over the telephone, IKEDA was also greatly concerned and said: "The problem

is a very perplexing one. However, unless the Premier quickly decides on the matter of the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry, wouldn't it become an annoying problem?"

I then spoke to the Minister of the Imperial Household over the telephone, and he was greatly concerned and said: "The Principal of the Peers School will be Admiral YAMANASHI. The course taken by the present Foreign Office was very unsatisfactory."

Moreover, according to the Premier's conversation on the morning of the 6th, he strongly said: "The problem which arose in the Foreign Office created an unpleasant atmosphere. Since this can easily spread to others, I intend to be firm this time, according to the situation."

That morning, I met the Prince and made a report. The Prince was also greatly concerned about the problem of the Foreign Office and stated: "Does Vice-Minister TANI fully know his course?" So, I replied: "I think he knows." The Prince also said: "The problem of rice seem to be considerably grave, doesn't it? And, what about the Anglo-German problem? Some years ago, I have forgotten who it was, but a foreigner said to me: 'Japan has two advantageous factors. One is that Japan has the Imperial Household, and the other is that Japan is surrounded by the sea.'"

The other day, when seven or eight men, such as KONOYE and KIDO, gathered in Tokyo with Professor NISHIDA (of Kyoto Imperial University) as the leader, Dr. NISHIDA said to KONOYE: "We need a large, complete library in Tokyo. We need such facilities as the British

Museum or the National Library in Paris. We want a collection of outstanding books of the world, not like those in libraries in Japan today, which have such meager contents." In brief, at the time of the 2600th Anniversary (of the founding of the Japanese Empire), instead of doing trivial things, it is desired to have the money spent on such a worthy project. Such was the expressed desire of the scholar." When I (HARADA) related that to the Prince, he said: "I am very much in accord with building a National Library, but I wonder whether or not the public spirit of the people will be adjusted accordingly. For instance, if the morals of the people do not go along with this, such things as the tearing out of good parts of books or the stealing of small books will occur and it will be a great misfortune.. As for the diplomats abroad, even when a common Japanese goes to a foreign country, it seems that they are anxious about trifles. This is distressing."

On the morning of the 7th, I spoke to the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal over the telephone, and learned that in the Foreign Office, the younger individuals were still united and were discussing various matters. The Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal was greatly concerned and stated: "The present Cabinet is lacking in political ability."

When I asked the Foreign Minister over the telephone about the situation, he said: "In regard to the present matter, I shall take the standpoint of issuing the directive to the officials of the Foreign Office first, and then take necessary steps."

When I asked IKEDA Seihin of the situation, he said:

RESTRICTED

"TANI is extremely unpopular. I am sorry for him, but it is unavoidable." Moreover, he was still concerned about the problem of the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry.

Then, on the 9th, when I telephoned the Minister of Home Affairs and asked him about the situation, he said: "Nothing can be done now in regard to the combined action of the Foreign Office officials on various matters. To retract the decision of the Cabinet meeting will leave a bad precedent, so that won't do!" Furthermore, when I asked Vice-Minister TANI over the telephone, he said: "At any rate, such problems should have arisen at the time when the Asia Development Board was organized, and it is similar to Czechoslovakia being absorbed (by Germany) and now Poland. It is my opinion that it is desirable to retain the appointment and dismissal of commercial attachos under the jurisdiction of the Foreign Minister."

When I spoke to the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal over the telephone, he said: "The Premier is still very firm. Although I spoke of the various political problems involved, he still seemed to be quite firm."

Then, when I asked the Premier about the situation over the telephone, the Premier said: "I think that their actions are impertinent, so I hope to settle it somehow within a few days," and expressed his firm determination.

On the morning of the 9th, when I went to the Prince and reported on general matters such as previously mentioned, the Prince said: "When I see recent newspapers, news from England and from Germany are included. It seems that there are numerous news items in the Japanese newspapers which favor Germany generally, and that

RESTRICTED

is not satisfactory. I am firmly convinced that England will not lose this war in the end. Again, the unlawful acts of Germany violate historical conventions. Since the telegrams of Ambassador OSHIMA, who is residing in Germany, seem to bear nothing but the German version, wouldn't it become troublesome unless we recall him as soon as possible?"

The Prince continued: "And then, in Japan, religion and education are in general tangled and cannot be distinguished. Thus, so-called religion, such as Shintoism, boosted by HIRATA Atsutane, is taken from the Bible (original parenthetical note: three fundamental principles are taken from the Bible). At the time, Buddhism was extremely popular. The principles were taken from some religion other than Buddhism and they were taken from the Bible."

On the morning of the 10th, when I spoke to the Premier over the telephone, he said: "If such occurrences are permitted in the Foreign Office, there is a fear of it affecting others. Leaving aside the right or wrong of the matter itself, I think there is no other choice than to suppress it. Because the Foreign Minister has come just now, I intend to confer with him. The public is very boisterous."

Then, when I asked the Finance Minister about the situation over the telephone, he said: "It is indeed annoying just to be haggling over the one point of the authority to appoint and dismiss commercial attaches. Since the matters of liaison are entrusted entirely to the Foreign Office, it should be sufficient. But no, they are still grumbling about it."

RESTRICTED

MATSUDAIRA, the Chief Secretary to the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, phoned and said: "Yesterday, about noon, I spoke to Vice-Minister TANI over the telephone, and he said, as if with some foresight: 'It possibly may go well.'" When I (HARADA) telephoned Vice-Minister TANI, he said: "Just when I thought that some solution was reached after a great deal of trouble, some new conditions were attached. It is a vexing matter indeed! If this be the case, I cannot possibly remain in the Foreign Office. Since the Cabinet is extremely firm, I am distressed."

On the 10th, I went to the Prince and reported on things in general. On the morning of the 11th, when I asked some questions of Director MITANI, of the Bureau of Treaties, over the telephone, he earnestly said: "The present problem is very profound. The upright officials of the Foreign Ministry are concerned about the original mission of the Foreign Office. However, there is the new proposal which we made during our discussion last night, and a settlement may be reached today. Nevertheless, it's an annoying matter."

When I met the Prince, I don't remember from what conversation it was, but the Prince said: "In regard to the matter of which you have spoken before; that is, to clarify His Majesty's will; I approve of it. But, in regard to issuing an Imperial rescript, I wonder if it isn't a very inopportune moment.

"I just happened to think of it last night, but I recall that during my student years, when I was staying in Paris, there was a struggle for authority between the Navy Ministry and the Foreign Office of France. It seems

that the dispute was whether or not to transfer the jurisdiction of the islands within the territorial waters, previously held by the Navy, to the Foreign Office. Such incidents occur in any nation.

"Recently, among the many letters that come to me, there have been some that say that by using the phrase, 'the words of His Majesty', we are using His Majesty as an instrument. If it amounts to that, then it will be fine if we literally enshrine His Majesty on a shelf. If we do so, it will end ultimately in making His Majesty a robot. This is indeed annoying!" Saying thus, the Prince was unhappy.

On the morning of the 12th, there was a telephone call from Tokyo. This was: "The negotiation in regard to the problem of the Foreign Ministry is nearing collapse. The situation is such that resignations are following in rapid succession, and 131 senior officials already have tnedered their resignations. This is a serious problem. On one side, the antipathy toward the Army has become increasingly strong, and since the Foreign Office was defeated before on the Asia Development Board Issue, and this time on the Ministry of Foreign Trade issue, the original position of the Foreign Office has been practically destroyed. So, there are actual bases for such resentment to a large degree and one can sympathize with their stand."

I telephoned MATSUDAIRA and asked about the situation. He said: "Just when the matters of the Foreign Office seem to be settled, then the parley collapses under the activities of the previously mentioned SHIRATORI group. They are also slandering Vice-Minister

TANI. The truth is that those who are against TANI are not many. Thus, among the newspaper reporters, those who are intimate with the SHIRATORI group are blasting him (TANI) repeatedly, while those who are with the Cabinet are saying: 'It is indeed regrettable for Vice-Minister TANI.'"

Then, I telephoned GOTO Fumio and said: "I repeatedly hear the comment that the Big Three Ministers (Foreign, Army and Navy) are lacking in political consideration, and I would like to have you speak to Director KARASAWA of the Legislation Bureau as well as to the Minister of Home Affairs. If the Cabinet persists in maintaining the decisions of the Cabinet meeting, then it will be confronted with a greater problem than it realizes. Actually, previously at the time of the HAMAGUCHI Cabinet, when the judicial officials united and began to create commotion because of their salary, the HAMAGUCHI Cabinet decided to agree to the revision of salary at the Cabinet meeting. However, the fact is that upon seeing that the individual political trends were not favourable, the Cabinet withdrew the resolution and postponed the issue saying that the Cabinet will consider the issue anew. Thus, the problem of the Foreign Office at this time has a considerably long history, and is a very serious matter. If we settle the matter because of the activities of the SHIRATORI group or the subordinate officials' control of their superiors, it will create great misunderstanding. Will you speak to KARASAWA about that point, and also to the Minister of Home Affairs and the Vice-Minister?" In the afternoon, a telephone call came from GOTO, and he said: "I have conveyed your

message to the Minister of Home Affairs and to KARASAWA, the Director of the Legislation Bureau."

On the 12th, MATSUDAIRA came to Okitsu and said: "KIDO and KONOYE are saying that it may be possible that the Cabinet is in a precarious position. By all means, we must be prepared for a succeeding Cabinet.... KIDO and KONOYE are concerned and said that until the call is made for a succeeding Cabinet, it will be difficult unless we make arrangements openly, and not be accused again of corruption or something of that nature."

On the morning of the 13th, when I telephoned the Chief Secretary of the Cabinet, he said: "We are resolved to tolerate the matter of the Foreign Office as long as we can."

Then, when I telephoned ARITA, he said: "Tomorrow (14th), the Premier will meet with the Cabinet and will settle the matter generally by leaving the authority of appointing and dismissing the commercial attaches where it was before. Then, the Premier intends to go to the Foreign Office himself, explain the circumstances, and persuade all the officials who tendered their resignation, to remain in office. He intends to assemble the administrative officials and give them instructions, and after that, appease all the senior officials of the Foreign Office. Thus, for the first time, the gravity of the controversy was realized by the Premier and the Cabinet."

Then, I went to report to the Prince and told him about the telephone conversation from the Chief Secretary and other matters.

At the Cabinet meeting of the 13th, the Premier

said to the Cabinet Ministers: "The authority for appointing and dismissing the commercial attaches will be given to the Foreign Minister. We will modify, to some extent, the decision reached at the Cabinet meeting and I would like to have the entire matter left in my hands." Thus, an agreement was reached between the Premier and the Foreign Minister. After the Cabinet meeting, the Foreign Minister went immediately to the Foreign Office, gathered all the senior officials, and told them about the complications of the matter. He said: "The authority of appointing and dismissing commercial attaches is to be left as before, and ultimately, the contention of the Foreign Office is as you had desired. However, in these critical times, I would like to have you exert yourselves." As the spokesman for the senior officials who tendered the resignation, Secretary TAKASE stood up and apologized for the unpleasantness of their activity and the trouble caused to the Foreign Minister. Thus, the entire staff withdrew their resignations and returned to their duties. The ten-day controversy of the Foreign Office was thus ended.

On the 13th, I met the Prince and reported. The Prince seemed to be relieved by the news, but he said: "In this matter, various personnel problems will be left over."

On the 16th, when I spoke to the Premier over the telephone, he said: "I have decided to make Count SAKAI the Minister of Agriculture and Forestry. Minister of Commerce and Industry GODO said: 'It won't do for me to hold two posts concurrently. How about filling the

post of Minister of Agriculture and Forestry with a full-time Minister?' Therefore, I asked Count SAKAI, who readily agreed. So finally, this matter is settled." Each time we had met, the Premier had said: "In the matter of the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry, I have an idea." Thus, it seems that it was his intention from the beginning to make Count SAKAI the full-time Minister.

Then, when I spoke to KONOYE over the telephone, he said: "SAKAI will do. If he can do the actual work, it will be well. Finance Minister AOKI came to me, so I said to him that it would be well to encourage the administration to relieve those remaining ministers, who are holding two posts concurrently, and fill the vacancies with about two ministers from the political parties before the Diet meets. It is better to have a sound Cabinet."

Then, Minister of Home Affairs OHARA said: "The matter of the Foreign Office has been settled after great difficulties. Furthermore, I shall be careful, but I intend to do my best. Pro-Soviet activities are not much to speak of."

Immediately after, when I spoke to the Foreign Minister over the telephone, he said: "I saw Prince KONOYE yesterday and he cautioned me saying: 'Anti-British sentiment is again rising in the rural districts, so I wonder about suddenly reviving pro-British sentiment!" So, I asked: "Is Prince KONOYE opposed to this pro-British movement?" "No, that isn't so! Prince KONOYE thinks that a pro-British campaign is good, but he said that to do it suddenly is not good," was the Foreign Minister's answer. So, I said to Minister NOMURA: "You must listen to Prince KONOYE's conversation carefully, for

RESTRICTED

there are some individual who will go to Prince KONOYE and threaten him. Prince KONOYE is, as a rule, of a weak character and is apt to be pushed around easily, so on that point you must take extreme precautions."

On the morning of the 16th, I met the Prince (SAIONJI) and he said: "They are saying that they are going to reduce the number of ministers. However, even in England and elsewhere, there are about twenty seats." I reported on matters which occurred since the other day and returned.

On the morning of the 17th, I telephoned the Premier and said: "You had many problems, but now that you have them settled, that is fine, isn't it?" The Premier said: "It was so awkward that I was distressed. In truth, it is as my story appears in the newspapers. SAKAI was the wise of Minister of Commerce and Industry GODO. Furthermore, I hope to make preparations in accordance with regulations as much as possible before the Diet."

On the 18th, I spoke to the Foreign Minister over the telephone, and he said: "At present, Turkey is making preparations against Russia. Russia is doing her utmost to prevent the entrance of any British and French warships into the Black Sea, but this may be difficult. Then, the United States is gradually moving towards the aiding of England and France, but the American Legion has passed a resolution against war. However, when it ultimately comes to a crisis, then I believe they will aid England and France. Moreover, it may be thought that Russia will not send troops to the Western Front, but only material aid. There has been no progress made in the Anglo-Japanese relations, but from now on, I hope

gradually to improve relations with the United States and England."

Saionji - Harada Memoirs

Chapter 343
(6 November 1939)

Wang Regime Hurried

Translated by S/Sgt. Clyde Takechi

On the morning of the 19th, I called on the Prince (SAIONJI) and made a detailed report. Having no further matter of importance to report, I returned home.

On the 21st, when I talked to the Premier over the phone, he said: "I am giving full consideration to time and individuals for filling the posts of Minister of Railways and Minister of Welfare. I will not make hasty decisions and will be cautious on this matter."

I called Foreign Vice-Minister TANI over the phone and inquired into the situation. He said: "The Foreign Minister, on his trip to worship at Ise, spoke on various matters to newspapermen on the train. At present, there is no other way but to speak to the newspapermen to that extent. Also, in connection with the establishment of the political power of WANG Ching-wei, there are several movements to interrupt this. However, since the matter has progressed to this point, the government is determined to carry it through."

When I talked to the Home Minister over the phone, he said: "In regard to the filling of the Cabinet posts, I believe there is no need to hurry the matter. In fact, it would be better to wait and see the outcome. There are considerable rightist underground movements, but I am keeping a close surveillance on them."

I spoke to the Chief Secretary to the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, MATSUDAIRA, over the phone on various matters. He said: "There is no change in the situation at present."

RESTRICTED

Wang Regime Hurried

At 10:00 o'clock on the 21st, I called on the Prince (SAIONJI) and made a detailed report. The Prince said: "It is indeed perplexing that there are numerous rumors recently. There was a time when Emperor MEIJI was taken ill and some people circulated rumors to the effect that the Emperor had died, and tried to profit from this. The situation is not a favourable one."

Furthermore, we discussed the appointment of SAKAI as the Minister of Agriculture and Industry, and also the conversation I had with KONOYE. SAIONJI related the incident of the Genro during the reign of MEIJI. It was attempted to send the late Prince KONOYE (Fumimaro's father) to study in Russia. However, it was decided that Prince SAIONJI would take him to Germany instead. SAIONJI said: "In my youth, when I went to France and returned, they looked upon me as a radical and said: 'Since they blundered in sending SAIONJI to France, they are now sending KONOYE to Russia.' Russia was thought to be a great country at that time."

On the 23rd, when I went to Oiso on a short trip and met IKEDA, he said: "I heard the Navy is at present making a thorough study of our relationship with Russia for preparations against the United States. Also, it was said that the President of the United States has often requested Japan to send Viscount ISHII to the United States. However, it seems as if that this was derived from the President speaking to someone personally." He was also concerned over foreign policy.

On the 25th, I phoned the Foreign Minister and inquired into the situation. He said: "There is no change."

RESTRICTED

Also, when I talked to the Imperial Household Minister on various matters concerning the Emperor's trip, he spoke on foreign policy and said: "It is difficult to forecast the outcome in regard to the European War, but I believe the war will not end so soon. Also, they may not be able to stop fighting." When I asked the Imperial Household Minister for his personal view concerning the sending of Viscount ISHII to the United States, he said: "No matter who we send, it is hopeless. As long as the existing condition in Asia is not changed, it is not a question of individuals."

When I spoke to Vice-Minister TANI over the phone, he said: "The European situation has changed considerably with the entry of Russia. Every nation is taking great precautions against Russia's move towards the Balkans, India and Turkey. Germany, on one hand, has promoted friendly relations with Russia, and she feels great danger and is cooperating with Russia. On the other hand, since the strength of the German submarine and air forces is very powerful, it appears as though England is contemplating settling this war through diplomacy rather than fighting. However, I am not clear on that point. The establishment of the New Central Government of China, in other words, the settling of the China Incident, is the most urgent question. Japan has intentions to settle her differences with Russia through diplomatic negotiations. Naturally, a non-aggression pact cannot be concluded."

I called on the Prince (SAIONJI) on the morning of the 25th. I spoke to him in regard to the Emperor's trip and also of my conversation with the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal over the phone. The Lord Keeper of the Privy

Seal had stated: "On the surface, the attitude of the Army has become very satisfactory. However, it is difficult to probe what is its underlying motive. In general, their attitude is very satisfactory. As for foreign policy, it appears as if it is proceeding favourably. SAKAI, the Minister of Agriculture and Forestry, is pondering dilligently over the matter of the rationing of rice and the supplementing of the shortage."

After returning to Tokyo, I spoke to the Premier and others over the phone from the 26th to the 27th. The Premier said: "At any rate, there is no alternative but to exert our utmost efforts for the settlement of the China incident. In regard to internal affairs, as I have spoken to you previously, I will not make hasty decisions for the appointment of the Ministers of Welfare and Railways."

MATSUDAIRA, the Chief Secretary to the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, said: "Lt. Gen. ISOGAI (original note: Kwantung Army Chief of Staff) has submitted his resignation in connection with the Nomonhan Incident. He lost the battle so it is natural that he submit his resignation. However, ISOGAI has taken an attitude as if to say: 'What is going to happen to those who have assumed the post of Chief of Staff of the Manchurian Army and division commanders of certain areas equally reponsible for the defeat?' Therefore, the situation is that the authorities concerned are withholding their resignations in order to avoid confusion."

On the 28th, I called on the Prince (SAIONJI) and reported on the happenings up to the present. The Prince said: "I would like to have them settle the China problem as soon as possible." I replied: "That seems to be the

RESTRICTED

Premier's opinion also."

The Prince added: "The method for training government officials is very poor." In connection with this, the Prince related: "When I was in Paris, Prince ITO called on me and said: 'I desire to select capable individuals evenly, not only from Satsuma (the present Kagoshima) or Choshu (Yamaguchi), but from all parts of the nation.' To this statement, I suggested: 'Once, when Prussia was the core of Germany, there was a tendency to appoint Prussians as government officials. BISMARCK, greatly concerned over this, established an Imperial University in Berlin. Individuals from all parts of the nation who passed the examination were equally eligible to enter this university. Therefore, from this training center for government officials, many fine officials began to emerge. This matter pertains to Germany, but France, which was defeated in the Franco-Prussian War, followed in the footsteps of their enemy, Germany. They improved upon the German method to a higher degree, and trained the government officials of France in a similar manner.' When I outlined this to Prince ITO, he said: 'It is a very excellent plan.' Therefore, immediately upon returning to Japan, he (Prince ITO) decided to establish an Imperial University and train government officials. Moreover, instead of simply placing it under the influence of the Satsuma and Choshu clans, it was decided to admit qualified individuals from the entire nation. By recalling Minister MORI Yurei who was then in London, and appointing him as Minister of Education, this method was applied and the training of government officials undertaken. Since MORI was from Satsuma, Prince ITO

considered it would facilitate matters to utilize him. The fact that the Prince appointed such a member of the influential Satsuma clan is assumed to be far-sightedness on the part of Prince ITO." I returned after listening to the story of the Prince (SAIONJI).

On the 30th, when I spoke to the Foreign Minister over the phone, he said: "In regard to the Anglo-Japanese and American-Japanese meeting, I wish to commence these meetings in an informal manner. However, since the newspapers are commenting as though we were to open peace negotiations, it is indeed perplexing. At the present moment, I am making preparations for these meetings. In regard to these matters, since it would be unfavourable if the Army and Navy aren't consulted, these matters are under joint deliberation. However, everything is proceeding very satisfactorily."

I also spoke to Home Minister OHARA over the phone and he said: "At present, the Government is occupied with the rice problem. At any rate, it is necessary to import approximately 1,000,000 koku (4.96 bushels per koku) of rice from Siam and Burma, and distribute this equally within the country. Since this cannot be carried out satisfactorily by the Ministry of Agriculture alone, the Home Ministry and the Ministry of Welfare intend to cooperate for accomplishing this."

Finance Minister AOKI said: "At tomorrow's Cabinet meeting, I intend to propose the purchasing of approximately 1,000,000 koku of rice (first proposal). It is indeed perplexing the way the newspapers are stirring up trouble." I replied: "Why don't you consult with the War and Home Ministers concerning this matter and have them warn

RESTRICTED

the newspapers not to print anything that will interfere in the execution of the national policy?" To this, AOKI replied: "My intentions are also the same."

I called on the Prince (SAIONJI) around 10:30 a.m., and spoke on various matters. The Prince said: "Since the newspapers are afraid to criticize the Army, their bullying attitude towards the other ministries is indeed annoying."

On the morning of the 31st, former Finance Minister ISHIWATA and I called on the Prince (SAIONJI). ISHIWATA's desire to call on the Prince was that he could not find any opportunity earlier to call on the Prince to thank him for the services rendered to his father. Although he did not have any matters of great importance to speak of, it appears that he spoke to the Prince in regard to the rice and budget problems and the disposition of the China Incident.

On the morning of November 2nd, I phoned the Premier and inquired into the situation. He said: "The plan to settle the China Incident has been generally determined. In all probability it will be settled within the year." TANI also spoke on a similar matter over the phone from the Foreign Office.

On the morning of November 3rd, I returned to Tokyo and on the morning of the 4th, when I called on the Premier at his residence, he said: "In regard to the disposition of the China Incident, their (China) proposal was that they desired to be known as the People's Government, and conduct government administration along the policies of the Three Principles (of Dr. SUN Yat-sen). In regard to the national flag, they desire to hoist the Sun-in-the-Sky

RESTRICTED

Flag. In connection with that, there is opposition against hoisting the Sun-in-the-Sky Flag. People are making various remarks on that matter. However, I think such matters are not important. The structure of the government is not definite, but we must reach an agreement before the WANG Government is established.

"Since the 'Big Three' are to meet at Tsingtao on the 8th or the 9th, the problem of the establishment of the Central Government is to be discussed. Then a central conference can be held in the latter part of November. Individuals to attend this meeting will consist of ten members of the WANG faction, and ten persons representing the Provisional Central Government, the Central Government and other factions. The plan is to decide upon the general principles of the new Central Government.

"Thirdly, there is a necessity of having an understanding of the relationship between Japan and the respective areas of North China, Central China and the Mengkiang district (including parts of Hopei, Chahar and Inner Mongolia). The Mengkiang area is a specially designated area for the purposes of economy and anti-communism, and should be granted special autonomy from the Central Government. In connection with economy and anti-communism, North China is also a special area. Therefore, the Central Government (of China) should set up a local political committee and preserve the close relationship between Japan and China. Furthermore, for the purpose of maintaining peace and order in these areas, military commissions will be dispatched.

"Fourthly, the areas along the lower reaches of the

rivers of Central China are special areas from the economic standpoint of Japan and China. In South China, an (administrative) organ directly under the control of the Central Government will be placed on Hainan Island and some Japanese military installations constructed. Tsingtao, Shanghai and Amoy also are special areas, and it is planned to enlarge Shanghai.

"Furthermore, in general, it is planned to have the Chinese Government recognize Manchukuo. Preparations for the establishment of the Central Government have been settled. However, measures against CHIANG Kai-shek and third powers should be carried out at the same time. It appears as if WANG and others are planning to undermine the CHIANG Kai-shek Regime, but in order to do that, I believe matters will not proceed satisfactorily, unless WANG and others have the support of a third power and also the participation of Japan. I (Premier) think there is no alternative but to utilize the United States and England in the execution of this matter.

"Recently, Ambassador SHIRATORI returned and said that we must form a Japanese-German-Soviet alliance or strengthen the anti-Comintern axis to oust England and United States.' To this, I (Premier) replied that it would be very unfavourable to request the aid of Russia in order to oust England and the United States. Moreover, it will not constitute materialistic nor moral support. At any rate, because Japan has not yet reached maturity from an international and ethical viewpoint, great danger will follow. I made my opposition on that matter clear to SHIRATORI. However, according to some sources, Prince KONOYE advised SHIRATORI to listen to Finance

RESTRICTED

Minister AOKI's views on the present situation because SHIRATORI was completely ignorant of the materials situation. SHIRATORI agreed with KONOYE and talked with the Finance Minister on various points. SHIRATORI said: 'I understand now,' and was greatly surprised."

The Premier added: "We employ bureaucrats, but they are the most useless individuals. They are lacking in experience and have limited vision and they are no different from book-worms. Although men of the political parties are criticized, they are well-informed and in actuality, they are easier to utilize in politics and are more understanding. We must re-educate the bureaucrats." The Premier showed considerable indignation against the bureaucrats.

At noon of the 4th, I invited Barons KURODA and IWAKURA and six other leaders of the Koseikai to my home at Sendagaya. I corrected the points in the political situation on which people were being misled by rumors, etc.

On the morning of the 5th, I called on the Foreign Minister at his residence and inquired on various matters. He said: "Yesterday, I met Ambassador GREW and spoke on various matters. To better our relationship with the United States, we must request the aid of England and cooperate with her. As England is endeavoring to improve her relations with Japan, I think that we may be able to settle this problem. Several days ago, the Italian Ambassador was very pleased and said: 'At present, it is possible for Italy to make large profits. Italy received an order for munitions to the extent of 1,000,000,000 liras from France. I do not think Japan will conclude a non-aggression pact with Russia. Even if Japan does

conclude a pact, Russia may break it the following day. There is no other country in this world as unreliable as Russia. One of the reasons why France was not going communistic was that Italy kept Spain from turning communistic and accordingly, the BLUM Cabinet of France lost its power. Therefore, France should be grateful to Italy. I think Germany will also be defeated by Russia in the near future.'" The Foreign Minister further stated: "In regard to Vice-Minister TANI's resignation, I am considering the time and means to carry this out." The Foreign Minister greatly sumpathized with TANI. However, he said that it is annoying because there are some among the Cabinet who wish to force TANI's resignation.

I called on Admiral YONAI because I happned to go by. Admiral YONIA said: "It appears as though no one in the Navy circles is very concerned about Russo-Japanese friendship, etc. They are not giving a thought to it. It would be annoying if a Russo-Japanese and a Japanese-American War should start simultaneously. In connection with this, there is no doubt that some individuals are studying the Russian question."

At that time, I told YONAI that when the settlement of the China Incident was about to be reached, there was a proposal to send Prince KONOYE temporarily to China as a Special Ambassador Plenipotentiary. To this, Admiral YONAI said: "That is a very good idea." Therefore, I said: "In order to do this, we must give careful consideration to the personnel of the staff, and there are probably methods of carrying this plan out. There are numerous individuals who are giving considerable thought

RESTRICTED

to that matter only. I do not know what the outcome may be, but I am merely mentioning this to you for your information."

RESTRICTED

Saionji - Harada Memoirs

Chapter 344.
(16 November 1939)

Harada Meets Emperor

Translated by S/Sgt. Clyde Takechi

I returned to Okitsu on the evening of the 6th. On the morning of the 7th, I called on the Prince (SAIONJI) and reported on subsequent developments. The Prince said: "In politics, it is imperative to settle existing problems on the basis of actual facts. Ideals and imagination are not a part of politics." On this day, an extra was issued to the effect that the fixed price of rice has gone up. In regard to this, the Prince said: "Since long ago, it has followed that when the price of rice goes up, depression arrives. Has this point been taken into consideration?"

That afternoon, the Prince asked me to go on an errand to the Imperial Villa in Numazu to convey a message to the Grand Chamberlain. This was that Prince (SAIONJI) should appear personally and pay his respects to His Majesty on the occasion of His Majesty's trip. However, because of his illness, SAIONJI is sorry he cannot pay his respects personally. This was to be conveyed to the Emperor. A little after 3:00 p.m., I appeared at the Imperial Villa and awaited the Emperor's arrival. I conveyed Prince SAIONJI's message to the Grand Chamberlain. The Grand Chamberlain returned after awhile and said that he had conveyed the Prince's message to His Majesty and for me to wait awhile since the Emperor might grant me an audience. After the official audiences were completed, I appeared at the Imperial Chamber ushered in by Vice-Chamberlain KANROJI, and was granted an audience

~~RESTRICTED~~

with His Majesty. I listened to the Emperor's views and was deeply impressed with the honor. The Emperor inquired cordially: "How is Prince SAIONJI's health?" Therefore, I briefly outlined the facts to the Emperor. Thinking it would be rude to stay too long, I was about to leave, then the Emperor said: "Please tell Prince SAIONJI to be very careful of his health." I then withdrew from the presence of His Majesty.

After returning to Okitsu, I wrote to Vice-Chamberlain KANROJI and explained the general condition of the Prince and requested him to convey this to the Emperor.

I left the Imperial Villa around 6:00 p.m. and went to the Hoyo-kan. Here, MATSUDAIRA, the Imperial Household Minister; the Home Minister and I advised each other in regard to the various problems. I mentioned everything that I could think of. I returned to Okitsu late that night. On the following day, after I conveyed His Majesty's greetings to Prince SAIONJI and also the Emperor's various plans for the maneuvers, I returned home.

On the 14th, I spoke to Prince KONOYE on various matters over the phone. KONOYE spoke in regard to the arrangements for the succeeding Cabinet as previously mentioned. However, we decided to discuss this matter after my return to Tokyo. The Prince (KONOYE) further stated that the new regime of WANG Ching-wei seems to be a very difficult problem. Furthermore, KONOYE made various statements concerning the unsettled atmosphere within the political parties and the fact that there are many anti-government factions.

I spoke to the Premier over the phone. He said that

there were no changes. I also inquired about the situation from SAKAI over the phone. SAKAI said that the rice problem is proceeding very favorably and since there are still some untouched matters, he will do his best on them. I phoned the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal and he said that the situation has calmed down in general. I also spoke to former Foreign Minister ARITA over the phone and he said that a coalition of (the) CHIANG Kai-shek and WANG Ching-wei (groups) is very difficult. He said to take the Tsinan Incident for an example and it would show the difficulty.

At 10:00 a.m. on the morning of the 14th, I called on the Prince (SAIONJI) again, and briefly outlined the above matters. The Prince said: "Observing the headlines of the newspapers, there seems to be no control enforced on the newspapers concerning respect towards foreign nations. Isn't there any means to control the newspapers?" During the course of our conversation, the Prince said: "I believe Germany's victory will jeopardize Japan in the future." I returned to Tokyo on the 15th.

RESTRICTED

Saionji - Harada Memoirs

Chapter 345.
(27 November 1939)

Subordinates Back Tani

Translated by S/Sgt. George Kakehashi

On the night of the 16th, when the three of us, KONOYE, MATSUDAIRA and myself, leisurely met at the Kuwana, KONOYE strongly said: "The pro-Soviet and pro-German fever is spreading to the younger officials. It may be said that nearly all of the younger members of the Foreign Office are that way. According to newspaper reporters, Gen. UGAKI seems to have no objection in regard to the pro-Soviet and pro-German issues."

I (HARADA) said: "There may be instances in various parts of the country where even the most ordinary individual, not the so-called intellectual, considers England as outrageous; but those who hold Germany even more absurd, are greater in number. I think that ill-feeling towards the Soviet is held by the general public. Although I believe that there is a similar atmosphere among the younger members of the Foreign Office, the actual facts cannot be known unless we investigate the matter a little further." Then, KONOYE said to me: "You don't hear the clamor of such pro-Soviet and pro-German factions at your place." So, I said: "Even if the most trivial of matters is persistently exaggerated to you by others, you immediately begin to think that the majority feel the same. Well, it might be well for you to combine the two extreme thoughts and digest them so that it results in a compromise thought."

Furthermore, KONOYE said: "It is said that the Army has become well organized, but do you know that

RESTRICTED

inter-rank activities are becoming prevalent again?" I replied: "You probably think so because a certain member of the faction, which is trying to activate the inter-rank movements again, approaches you and tells you so. However, I have heard that the present Minister is carrying on very well." KONOYE continued: "UMEZU has reappeared, and the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal speaks very highly of him. But just what's so good about UMEZU?" So, I replied: "At the time UMEZU left for his post in North China and when you received him, you said immediately afterwards that you had not seen UMEZU until this time. Didn't you disclose to me, after meeting him, that UMEZU was a splendid individual and that you made a regrettable choice?" KONOYE said: "However, isn't he the one who finally magnified our insignificant China policy?"

That noon, when I was at the Hattori Watch Store, it so happened that several younger members of the Foreign Office approached me. They said: "The fact is we wanted to see you. Vice-Minister TANI is actually to be pitied at this time. Unless we do something now as best we can, he will nearly rot as he is. Of those who speak slanderously of Vice-Minister TANI, there are some 12 or 13 henchmen of SHIRATORI in the Foreign Office, but nearly all the rest sympathize with Vice-Minister TANI. They do not say it, but they have the hope of having TANI carry on with firm but definite steps. So will you please encourage Vice-Minister TANI?" I replied: "I am just an outsider and have been troubled by the fact that people are saying that I had recommended Vice-Minister TANI. Although I too, think that TANI is suitable, it was the

RESTRICTED

Premier's desire from before, so it may be said that the Premier had recommended him. I of course, am intimately acquainted with TANI, but if I should step in and meddle in the internal affairs of the Foreign Office, I think I shall create complications for TANI. Consequently, I shall say nothing. However, if you think so much of the matter, why not speak boldly and advise him? Encourage each other and carry on." They replied: "We shall do as you say. However, please speak to him as a friend also." I compared the foregoing opinions with that of KONOYE, when I saw him before, and there were considerable differences.

On the morning of the following day, I had Bureau Chief MITANI come to my residence. It seemed as if the opinions of the section chiefs I had met on Ginza yesterday seem to be actual facts. MITANI also agreed with them. MITANI said: "I, too, shall think it over and encourage TANI and try to do something by stepping in between the Minister and the Vice-Minister. When we speak among ourselves, we are disappointed with Prince KONOYE. The internal strife of the Foreign Office, from one point of view, is the result of the fact that at the time of KONOYE's premiership, the young members of the Foreign Office were incited through Secretary USHIBA, his group and USHIBA's younger brother. The fact that KONOYE's attitude at that time was not very favorable was the criticism of all. Well, you may be his (KONOYE) intimate acquaintance, but we were very disappointed."

On the morning of the 17th, when I met the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal and related KONOYE's conversation and also mentioned the Foreign Office, he said: "I think

that the Army is not able to carry out her inter-rank activities or anything else. In general, the War Minister seems to be carrying on well. Diplomacy also seems to be progressing by degrees towards normalcy. As for China, there is no other way than to aid WANG. The future is probably unknown to all.... The Metropolitan Police seem to have no power and that is unsatisfactory."

On the 18th, when I visited IKEDA at Oiso, IKEDA said: "The other day, I spoke leisurely with the Premier, In regard to the activities of the Ministry of Home Affairs; there is strong opposition to the national policy, especially, in relation to diplomacy; so they must tighten up considerably. After SHIRATORI had returned, there seems to be numerous activities, but, oh well, such individuals must be supervised." Then I (HARADA) told him what I knew about the conditions of the Foreign Office and what I had heard about the Army. IKEDA said: "In that case, I shall leisurely converse with Prince KONOYE in the near future.... Even from the financial and economic standpoint, there is no other course at this time than to draw England and the United States nearer to us."

On the 20th, when I telephoned the Foreign Minister, he said: "There is probably no other way than to gradually settle the concrete issues." Then I related MITANI's conversation and also the others (those met on the Ginza). The Foreign Minister said: "I know of those conversations very well." Moreover, when I related the general situation to Vice-Minister TANI over the telephone, TANI said: "As for diplomacy, there is no other course than to carry it out in a business-like manner and settle the issues."

I went to Okitsu and from 10:00 a.m. on the 20th, I

reported on the general situation. The Prince said: "There are many who come to talk about KONOYE, and there are those who say that court nobles are useless.... Then, I wonder if what TERAUCHI told the newspapers upon his recent return is true? You have said that TERAUCHI is an understanding and righteous man, but according to the newspaper reporters, he (TERAUCHI) is saying that Germany's goodwill towards Japan will not change in the least. However, it is indeed a suspicious story. Now, if a German came to Japan and said that although he was in Japan, there is no change in the goodwill of Japan towards Germany, that is understandable. Germany is stalling Japan and Japan is being deceived. It doesn't stand to reason for someone (TERAUCHI) to go to that deceitful Germany and say that Germany's goodwill towards Japan hasn't changed a bit, does it? The newspapers have recently mentioned that the Premier has been coming to visit me frequently. The fact is that I had been thinking about seeing him, is he should come. However, the headlines and other news items which mention that the Premier is called and reprimanded by SAIONJI, or that the Premier goes to request favors of SAIONJI, are not very favourable. In addition, since the Cabinet is already spoken of as a weak Cabinet, it is unsatisfactory for the Premier to come to my residence. I think that it is better for the Premier not to come for the good of the government also. Thus, I would like to have you think of some suitable excuse and stop him from coming here." I (HARADA) thought that to be quite true.

On the 21st, I returned to Tokyo and on the morning of the 22nd, I visited the Premier. I said: "The Prince had intended to see you when you visit him, but it seems

to me that anonymous letters have come to the Prince. Then the newspapers write up everything big and report them as though there was something controversial. Thus, wouldn't your visit to the Prince, be a good point of attack on the Cabinet? If you have something to say, I can see him for you. If you have something special to say to the Prince, that is a different matter; but if it is nothing of great importance, how about postponing your visit for awhile?" The Premier replied: "Well, no I don't have anything special to say. I just thought I would stop by and pay my respects. However, since it is as you say, I wonder if I should?" As for the Chinese question, a consolidation of our present negotiation with WANG leaves us three important issues. First, the question of the withdrawal of garrison troops in China. Second, the dissolution of the Federated Bank of China and the issuance of new notes. Third, the nationalization of railways and the North China Railway Company, Ltd. In short, the problem of garrison troops in China is to withdraw the garrison within two years. If we withdraw the garrison immediately, then the WANG Regime would not be able to stand. Then, as for the Federated Bank of China problem, we must give it some consideration. As for the nationalization of railways, why not have the North China Railway Company, Ltd. be the managing corporation? ... Eventually, that railway will also become part of the Chinese Government Railways, but...."

When I spoke of my conversation with KONOYE, the Premier said: "Day before yesterday, I met the War Minister and inquired on various matters. The explanation of the inter-rank activities (of the Army) was as follows:

RESTRICTED

Previously, the younger members (of the Army) have participated in the affairs of state, but since the present Minister (War) took his post, they (young officers) do not even come near. Consequently, there is, more or less, an element of discontent. As it became known that some went outside of the Army circles and made various remarks, the Minister of War assembled them (the discontented faction) and explained the situation in general. He warned them that from now on anyone caught speaking out of turn outside the War Ministry will be severely punished. He said what was necessary and left his warning with the group. So, it is now settled.... The War Minister said that hereafter he will manage more rigidly, so I think there is no need to worry." Then, his (Premier's) opinions of the internal situation of the Foreign Office were the same as ours. When I (HARADA) spoke of the weakness of the Chief of the Metropolitan Police to the Premier, he said: "I shall take precautions. The bargaining with the political parties is not yet clearly known, but actually, nothing has been done about it."

That night, I returned to Oiso and early on the morning of the 23rd, I wrote about the general situation in a letter and sent it to Prince SAIONJI. The newspapers of the 23rd had it that the Foreign Minister assembled those above the rank of section chief and cautioned the entire assembly. First of all, he definitely settled the issue of the previous complications. Then, he said that if there be any confusion of public order or if there be any opposition hereafter, the administration will become strict. Then, on or

RESTRICTED

about the 23rd or 24th, I visited IKEDA and spoke to him on various matters. IKEDA's observation was that the Cabinet's position is very precarious.

On the 26th, I went to Tokyo. Since the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal's health was not very strong, MATSUDAIRA, the Chief Secretary, said that he wants to encourage the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal to recuperate. Therefore, I met the Minister of the Imperial Household and related that story to him and then conversed about various other issues. In the evening, I returned to my home in Sendagaya. On the morning of the 27th, I visited KONOYE at his home in Ogikubo.

Saionji - Harada Memoirs

Chapter 346
(3 December 1939)

Yonai's Prospects

Translated by T/Sgt. Shigeo Fukuyama

I (HARADA) told KONOYE that the Prince (SAIONJI) had said: "At the present time when anti-Japanese sentiments are at their peak, if conditions permit KONOYE to visit United States in an unofficial capacity to look at the international political situation and at the same time, find out how Japan is being looked upon by the United States and other nations, it might benefit you as well as our country in the long run. Moreover, wouldn't it be of great benefit for Japan's future in the international scene for you to make some close friends among the first class statesmen of America?' The Prince believed that this would be of benefit, both for you and our country. What do you think?" KONOYE replied: "I would like to go any time, and the sooner the better. It would be nice if things went smoothly; however, they will probably make quite an issue out of a lot of things."

KONOYE continued: "In regard to the setting up of the WANG Ching-wei Government, there have been arguments set forth that Japan is playing up to him too much and that she should clamp down on him instead. In particular, when KAYA returned to Japan via Hsinking and Seoul, he brought back reports that the Commander-in-Chief of the Kwantung Army, UMEZU, was opposed to the present way of doing things and that both Governor-General MINAMI of Korea, and War Vice-Minister ANAMI had also expressed their disapproval. These men were

RESTRICTED

part of the Oita Prefecture clique and were against the setting up of the WANG Ching-wei Government."

As it was around noon when I left KONOYE's residence, I went to the Kuwana. I called OKUMURA of the Foreign Ministry over and told him about KONOYE's talk. I talked to OKUMURA so that he would be able to convey this to the Foreign Minister. I told OKUMURA that I heard the rightists in Osaka, especially those around HASHIMOTO Kingoro, had abused and intimidated the business men to break away from or dissolve the Japan-England Society. Because of this, I told OKUMURA to tell the Foreign Minister that they must caution the War Minister to place the Kempei together with the Police Department in controlling this situation.

On the 28th, I went to Okitsu and made a general report to SAIONJI. I returned to Oiso on the 29th and on the 30th, keeping my promise, I went to see the Commander-in-Chief of the Combined Fleet, Vice-Admiral YAMAMOTO on his flagship, the Nagato. We talked about various things and I asked him: "The Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal has been ill for some time and people like IKEDA Seihin have been trying to get Admiral YONAI as his successor. There are others who feel that YONAI should be made the Premier because his popularity is so great. Such men as Count YAMAMOTO Gonbei, former Premier SAITO and Admiral OKADA have become Premiers. From the standpoint of the control of the military, it is very unfavorable to have a military man become the Premier during normal times; that is, outside of emergencies. This is speaking primarily from the standpoint of the military's integrity. In that sense, I

believe that there are many people who sould give full support to Admiral YONAI. As for his principles and character, I believe that they are very high and I have nothing but great admiration for him. Keeping in mind how your circles feel towards YONAI, how this would affect the morale of the Navy, or if this would be in violation of Navy tradition, Just how do you feel towards him?" YAMAMOTO replied: "Although there have been a great number of Premiers who have come from the Navy, if by chance His Highness, the Chief of the Naval General Staff, should resign, YONAI is the only one trustworthy in both principles and character who would be able to succeed him. Of course, there are men like Admirals NAGANO, KATO Takayoshi and HASEGAWA, but they would be entirely out of the question. Therefore, I truly believe that it would be of most benefit to both our country and the Navy for YONAI to serve his country as the Chief of the Naval General Staff." This seemed to duplicate my thoughts on the subject. Feeling that we must meet this situation with these thoughts in mind, I had dinner with the Vice-Admiral on his ship. I returned home around 1:30 and told the general story of the above to MATSUDAIRA, the Chief Secretary to the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal by phone.

On December 2nd, Chief Secretary MATSUDAIRA asked me: "I am going to see KIDO in Yugawara. Won't you come with me?" I went with him to Yugawara and the three of us had a talk. Since the Emperor had inquired about the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal's health, he had assured His Majesty that he would make every effort to regain his health. At any rate, I was relieved because there would

be no sudden actions taken. I returned to Tokyo that night because I had invited some of my relatives to my home.

On the night of the 3rd, Admiral YONAI and Ambassador SATO paid an informal visit and we talked about various things while we ate. On the morning of the 4th, I called on the Premier at his private residence.

RESTRICTED

Saionji - Harada Memoirs

Chapter 347
(13 December 1939)

China Problems Harass Cabinet

Translated by Miss Miwako Yanamoto

The Premier said: "We are having difficulties concerning the fact that SHODA Kazue and KUHARA were newly appointed as State Councillors and also regarding the disposition of the China Incident. However, the matters will probably be settled during this year." Regarding the relationship with the political parties, he stated: "Even if they do not enter (the Cabinet) as Ministers, we must have their help." He spoke very simply and from a practical standpoint, and didn't go into it deeply.

On the morning of the 5th, SAIONJI Kinkazu came over and said: "There are those who are spreading the rumor that this Cabinet won't resign because it was formed by Imperial Command. Is this true?" I replied: "I don't think that anyone would go around saying such nonsense. That is probably some rumor to aid someone."

When I met the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, he stated: "I am extremely anxious about the fact that situations, both domestic and foreign, are becoming quite troublesome. The Emperor desires a peace solution as soon as possible. At present, he is pressing the War Minister through his Chief Aide-de-Camp. The Home Minister is too business-like. He lacks political acumen. He must be a little more resolute." He had this desire regarding the Home Minister.

That night, I was, by chance, having dinner with Gen. SUGIYAMA. He sympathized with the many anxieties of the War Minister and said that he would like to cooperate with him as much as possible.

RESTRICTED

That day, MORIOKA of Formosa had come over and talked about the alluvial gold in Formosa. He said: "The scale is about five or six times larger than reported by the press."

On the 6th, I went to Sumitomo. It was being said there that the young people of Sumitomo went to the lecture at Showa-juku last night. They heard the statements of Minister ITO Nobumi. It is said that Germany seems very deficient in materials, and England's blockade is nearing complete success.

I talked to Foreign Minister NOMURA by phone. He stated: "We can't be optimistic, but neither do we need to be pessimistic. We have set up our course and are following it." Nothing very concrete was discussed.

I also met the Premier that day. He said: "Criticisms are being made with various intentions. However, I believe that we have been handling matters by basing them upon actual facts. I intend to talk with the War Minister about the China problem and settle it as soon as possible."

On the 7th, I went to Prince SAIONJI's place in Okitsu and made a report on matters up to the present. Prince SAIONJI said: "Everyone seems to forget that he is charged with problems of vital importance to the nation. This is a very distressing state of affairs."

On the 9th, I was invited to ITO Bunkichi's place together with KONOYE and KIDO. As we dined, we talked until around 11:00 o'clock. KONOYE said: "Disposition of the problem regarding China will probably have to be settled completely by dealing with WANG Ching-wei. No matter what is said, it may seem on the surface that he (WANG) has liaison with Chungking. However, I think that the

RESTRICTED

feeling between WANG Ching-wei and CHIANG Kai-shek isn't good. According to the stories of CHOU Fou-hai and others, the fact that it is said he has liaison with Chungking is because there are quite a number of persons within the Chungking Government who are trying to join up with WANG. Unless the terms which can make them join up are suitable, an agreement can't be reached with Japan. If they are not suitable - that is, if Japan submits terms that are too strong - it looks as if an agreement can't possibly be reached. ITAGAKI is supposed to return soon. Regarding this, there are two reports. One is: 'Opinions have changed since ITAGAKI went there, and that is why he is returning.' The other is: 'That is not so. He is returning after completing various preliminary arrangements.'"

On the 10th, I visited IKEDA at Oiso. IKEDA stated: "Persons like Admiral SUETSUGU, Gen. MATSUI Iwane, NAKANO Seigo and HASHIMOTO Kingoro, have formed an organization together with the Seisan-to. It has been said that SUETSUGU stated: 'We can do anything if we get the Emperor's support.' This is an extremely dangerous story."

IKEDA continued: "I met Foreign Minister NOMURA and told him that instead of dawdling over negotiations on trivial matters, why not permit the United States to navigate on the Yangtze? If there are any contraband articles which would be of advantage to the enemy, we could inspect them and seize them. Anyway, the atmosphere in the United States is very bad. I think that permitting them to navigate on the Yangtze is the first step. I told this to the Minister, but I got the feeling

that he didn't get the point. Regarding the fact of permitting navigation on the Yangtze, there is a point that the Army there is quite opposed to it. Another is that if navigation is permitted, the Americans might enter the interior of China for trade, and if trouble were to start between them and the Japanese soldiers, this would be awkward. I heard that this was quite a perplexing problem for the Foreign Ministry." IKEDA added: "The Home Minister must be more resolute."

On the morning of the 12th, I visited the Premier in Tokyo and we discussed many matters. The Premier stated: "The fact that we didn't declare war has given rise to very many conflicting problems and has been troubling us. The railroad problem and the Yangtze problems were caused by that." Concerning Japan proper, he said: "The rice problem isn't as bad as the public thinks. We can solve it gradually." I said to him: "Since there are many rumors regarding public peace, the Chief of the Metropolitan Police Board and the Chief of the Police Bureau should report from time to time to the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal." The Prime Minister replied: "That must be done."

Since there seem to be some State Councillors who are spreading evil words about TANI and NOMURA, I talked to IKEDA on the morning of the 13th. I said: "Please call MITANI, the Treaty Bureau Chief, to your place, and find out the various facts." At the same time, I requested MITANI to go to IKEDA's place at 9:00 a.m. tomorrow.

The following is what the Governor of Shizuoka said: "Since the Kempei and the lower ranks of the Army don't

understand things well, they have tried taking an attitude as if the Army were shielding someone like KAMEI Kanichi. Other untoward incidents still happen from time to time." Something must be done about this soon.

I wanted to talk to ARITA soon and meet leisurely with Gen. SUGIYAMA. Through the general, I hoped to bring up various problems concretely with the War Minister and inform him in detail about conditions. Therefore, I met ARITA on the 13th and talked to him leisurely.

Since the Cabinet is weak at present, it looks as if an uneasy atmosphere were rising in which there would be no telling what might happen. However, I thought that as supplies increased and the surrounding circumstances improved, this Cabinet would quiet down by itself. I told this to KONOYE, and he also made the same observation.

RESTRICTED

Saionji - Harada Memoirs

Chapter 348
(12 December 1939)

Cabinet Policies Criticized

Translated by S/Sgt Clyde Takechi

On the 13th, some news reporters said: "The Chief of Military Affairs Bureau, MUTO, claims that it was upon the order of the War Minister that he called on President MACHIDA (Minseito). However, that is very inexcusable." To claim that they (War Ministry) are against political intervontion, and to have permitted such a contrary action, can be taken as a criticism of the attack. At any rate, those who are trying to find fault with our present leaders criticize even minor matters. Therefore, we must be careful.

Moreover, the broker element of the rightist factions, scheming with the underlings of the Kempei, are even spreading unfavourable rumors against our present Army leaders. There are also numerous instances where they interfered with the work of the leaders. I felt that unless the War Minister carried out a purge of the Army, it will be difficult to improve the Army. In the near future, ARITA and I are to confer with the former War Minister, SUGIYAMA. SUGIYAMA had said: "I want to expend my utmost efforts in restoring the control of the Army by giving my full support to the present War Minister."

On the morning of the 14th, I met the Chief of the Liaison Department, TSUDA (Vice-Admiral), who returned from Shanghai at Marquis MATSUDAIRA's residence. I inquired into various matters, but his story was similar to that of the Premier yesterday. His opinion was that,

RESTRICTED

since war was not proclaimed, there have been various international and domestic repercussions on the settlement of the incident today. At this time, it is not yet too late, so it would be better to declare war in order to carry out the war to completion. On the other hand, there are those who are trying to settle the incident by giving direct support to WANG Ching-wei. Then I met KAGESA (Lt. Col.), INUKAI and SAIONJI Kinkazu. They said: "It would be very serious to do such a thing at present." However, Vice-Admiral TSUDA stated that both KAGESA and INUKAI acknowledge the fact that WANG Ching-wei is in constant communication with the Chungking Government. Although WANG Ching-wei is so mentioned, WANG himself is on bad terms with CHIANG Kai-shek. However, so long as it is regarded as a fact that the higher authorities of WANG's circle are in conspiracy with the present Chungking Government, the opponents of TSUDA's plan of declaring war are also taking the stand that it is natural from a realistic standpoint that WANG will negotiate as the ambassador plenipotentiary of the Chungking Government.

Since I had promised Prince KONOYE that I would call on him, I thought that it would be suitable to have KONOYE meet TSUDA also. Therefore, I got in touch with KONOYE. That evening, Prince KONOYE and TSUDA met at the Tokyo Club.

Later, I spoke to IKEDA over the phone. IKEDA said that on the morning of the 14th, Bureau Chief HITANI called on him and spoke to him without reservation as to how the Foreign Office had handled problems such as the internal condition of the Foreign Ministry, and

RESTRICTED

also the opening of the Yangtze River to other powers. He (HITANI) made matters very clear to him (IKEDA).

On the 14th, I was in bed with a cold, but KIDO called on me and said: "I think it may not be favorable for the succeeding Cabinet, but from the present situation, it may be necessary for Prince KONOYE to succeed to the premiership. At that time, he may have to gather influential men in order to form a Cabinet." I (HARADA) replied: "In that case, it would be necessary to place an individual who will be of assistance to KONOYE and also on whom KONOYE can rely. Under such circumstances, what are you going to do?" Although KIDO said: "I am tired of being Prince KONOYE's guardian." However, his attitude appeared to be that there was no one besides him to assist KONOYE.

Later, when YAMASHITA Kamesaburo called on me, he said: "Although I do not understand politics, according to information I receive, the Chekiang financial clique is inclined to agree completely with our national policy. There are several individuals who desire to see us. Also, it appears as if TU Yueh-sheng, together with the Chekiang clique is active in Shanghai. It is apprent to me that they desire to attain peace somehow."

After YAMASHITA left, the former manager of the London Branch of the Bank of Japan, YANAGIDA, who had returned to Japan, called on me. Fortunately, as I was confined indoors, I had an opportunity to have a long talk with him. YANAGIDA said: "I was indeed surprised to find the changed condition of the country on my return. Particularly, it appears to me as if normal livelihood and the public atmosphere has changed

considerably from the time of my departure. In Japan, England is considered as a powerful country of the past, and that its power is on the brink of declining. However, the fact is that it is absolutely to the contrary. I believe there is probably no other nation as firm as England. I have also visited Germany and Italy. What surprised me most when I visited Germany was the complete inefficiency of Ambassador OSHIMA. He has, under him, counsellors and other officials who are close friends of my university days, but they have neither ability nor vigor. We cannot do anything about the ambassador, and besides, they (diplomats) are always being victimized by the Army personnel. Furthermore, the actual condition of Germany is that internal strife is vigorous and anti-war movements are fairly strong. Also, there are contentions that they should carry on friendly relations with England with SCHACHT as the leader. It appears that HITLER is really in a perplexed situation at present and the fact is that Germany is lacking in material, etc., more than Japan realizes. The fact that Soviet Russia and Germany have combined is a special providence for Japan." He was exceedingly happy over this matter.

YANAGIDA further added: "From various circumstances, there was a natural tendency for Soviet Russia and Germany to combine. Therefore, suspecting this, I informed Ambassador SHIGEMITSU six months ago, and when I went to Germany I also spoke of this matter. However, at that time, Ambassador OSHIMA and the others who were there, absolutely denied the fact. This shows how negligent they were in their investigations. The present Italian Government is completely against Germany.

RESTRICTED

Cabinet Policies Criticized

Basically, Italy is a weak nation, but in this war, they received numerous orders for munitions from England. Since it is also their national character to hold extreme hatred towards Soviet Russia, it is practically impossible for Italy to unite with Germany again. For this reason, I have fully known for sometime that Italy would not participate in this war.

"This matter has been closely observed by various circles, but isn't KUHARA's rise in the political world an annoying matter? That is, as I have briefly mentioned to you previously, because KUHARA became a state councillor, his career was revived. Thus, he regained social prominence. Therefore, we suppose that with the revival of Gen. MAZAKI's public career, SHODA Kazue will be most useful as the connection between MAZAKI and KUHARA. The various circles are extremely concerned that a portion of the Army, by supporting SHODA Kazue, may make him the Premier, place KUHARA and MAZAKI under SHODA, and organize a large bloc by inducing a part of the other rightist factions to join. Even by observing the recent fact that SUETSUGU, MATSUI Iwane, HASHIMOTO Kingoro, TATEKAWA and the Seisanto have united; well, because of various circumstances; there is a possibility of conflicts with each other and thereby, no unity. However, if we bungle this matter, there is the fear that they may unite with KUHARA, SHODA and MAZAKI. In all probability, I think SHODA will assume a cautious attitude and will be careful so as not to be drawn in by such circles. At any rate, I feel that there is considerable danger. Furthermore, I am mentioning to everyone I meet that this type of Cabinet is indeed perplexing; particularly, because

~~RESTRICTED~~

they have bungled the price policy, and the problem of the demand and supply of rice. Even among the officials, many are protesting against such a Cabinet."

On the morning of the 16th, when I spoke to the Premier and the Home Minister over the phone, they made similar statements, just as when I had previously met them. The Home Minister said: "Although the public is making various comments, the majority of them are not true. The Premier clearly stated in yesterday's Cabinet meeting that he will not resign until the disposition of the (China) incident." Speaking in an optimistic manner, the Home Minister repeated to me: "It would have been better if we had replaced TANI. His reputation is very bad." Therefore, I said: "To some extent, there may be some bad points, but there is a great difference in the degree of impression which you hear and what we hear towards this matter. Previously, IKEDA also heard such a thing and thus informed me about it. Therefore, I had the Chief of the Treaty Bureau, MITANI, give him (IKEDA) the facts on this matter. Why don't you ask the Chief of the Treaty Bureau?" To this, the Home Minister said: "By all means, I shall ask him." I called MITANI over the phone and said: "Will you meet the Home Minister and frankly give him the actual facts?" MITANI gladly accepted, and said: "I also live in Nakano and he is located nearby, so I shall call on him and speak to him on that matter."

Furthermore, the Foreign Minister said: "In making preparations for the opening of the Yangtze River, I am troubled by interferences. The American and British issues are developing gradually, but the time element in

RESTRICTED

handling this matter is indeed slow. I imagine the Tientsin problem will be settled in the near future. In the United States, the former American Ambassador to Japan, CASTLE, who is favourably inclined towards Japan, is speaking on our behalf."

On the morning of the 16th, MATSUDAIRA, the Chief Secretary to the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, called on me and said: "Yesterday, when I accidentally met the Secretary of the Home Ministry, I inquired about the situation. He said that it appeared as though that the present Cabinet was very unpopular even within the Home Ministry. In regard to domestic problems, some headway will be made concerning the rice and coal problems. However, as there is much danger before next year's harvest, I think it is necessary to take considerable precaution. If the Cabinet resigns prior to this period, matters may be settled smoothly. A certain official of the Home Ministry said that he is very concerned over that period." Thus, MATSUDAIRA seemed to be very worried over that matter.

MATSUDAIRA added: "Several persons called on me and said that when they go to lecture in the prefectures, they find that there is a great difference in public interest towards the government of now and that of one month ago. In short, the fact is that the government has become very unpopular. According to a certain person who returned from Europe, the details of the Cabinet meeting of August 6th, pertaining to the Japanese-German-Italian Military Pact, was fully publicized in the French papers of the 8th. Furthermore, at that time, at the end of August, various opinions within the nation in

RESTRICTED

regard to this matter were in conflict with each other. Consequently, the Cabinet will probably collapse. They had even written to the effect that the succeeding War Minister would probably be ISOGAI or TADA. Neither became the War Minister. However, since there were some pre-arrangements, observing the contents of the papers it appears to me as though a systematic movement existed."

On the evening of the 17th, I met Foreign Vice-Minister TANI. He said: "A telegram came to the Foreign Minister from the President of the United States. It stated: 'As the Assistant Secretary of the Navy, I (ROOSEVELT) knew NOMURA very well when he was a Navy Captain attached to the Japanese Embassy at Washington as naval attache. I was not only well acquainted with Capt. NOMURA, but with the Japanese Navy as well and also numerous other naval personnel. I pray for your success.' The Foreign Minister did not inform the newspapers nor any others about this matter. However, he (Foreign Minister) immediately sent an answer stating: 'To have received Your Excellency's cordial message through HORINOUCHI at this time when we are expending our utmost efforts towards the betterment of diplomatic relations between the United States and Japan, is indeed gratifying and I am deeply impressed.' The United States, with considerable good-will, is gradually turning favourably towards us. However, with this opportunity, we must endeavor to mend the situation so that the United States actually will be on good terms with Japan. Ambassador GREW and the Foreign Minister intend to meet again tomorrow in connection with the United States-Japan negotiations. Furthermore, in regard to the Tientsin issue, I think the negotiations.

between Japan and England will progress satisfactorily and will be settled in the near future. I intend to hasten the conclusion of the trade pact with the Netherlands as soon as possible and have the negotiations carried on at The Hague. That is, it is intended to show (the desire) for preserving the Dutch East Indies by concluding the trade pact. Even at present, there are rumors in the United States that Japan or Germany may annex the Dutch East Indies. Accordingly, this action will clearly prove to the United States and the other nations that Japan does not harbor any territorial ambitions regarding the Dutch East Indies.

"Also, it is said that on the 21st, upon his return to Japan, Ambassador OSHIMA is to deliver a speech in the Imperial Presence. However, immediately after his speech, they will request his resignation and have him resign his post. Also, the younger members of the SHIRATORI faction, who call themselves the reform faction, will be sent outside of Tokyo. By the end of this year, the majority of them will be ordered out of Tokyo for duty elsewhere. As long as I have been appointed Foreign Vice-Minister, I intend to carry out matters the way I think is right. Therefore, don't be too concerned about me."

RESTRICTED

Saionji - Harada Memoirs

Chapter 349
(29 December 1939)

Cabinet Hopefuls Maneuver

Translated by Lt. Larry Nishihara

I met Foreign Vice-Minister TANI on the 18th and he said: "We must improve our economic relations with Holland. In this consultation, we must have them understand that Japan's designs on Holland do not include territorial or political ambitions. At the same time, we must explain matters so that suspicion will not be created in the minds of the other foreign nations. Moreover, under the principle that political negotiations can be halted, we made a request for a conference some time ago in regard to the commerical problem. There was a reply complying with this request recently, and we have given Minister ISHII, at The Hague, instructions for a concrete plan. The conference will start in the near future. This conference will take some time, and if there should be any indications of developments in political relations between Holland and other nations, the United States in particular, we are prepared to change this conference to a political one. At present, we do not have the strength to bring pressure to bear on Holland, either politically or in a military sense, so we must proceed along the line of a maintenance of the status quo. This will be favorable both for Holland and for Japan. In other words, Japan will recognize the activities of Holland for the preservation of her colonies and Holland will no longer need to be concerned over this matter.

"It has also been said that there is a swing toward

RESTRICTED

the conclusion of a long-term fishery treaty, but back of this, there is the matter of having Manchukuo pay for the remainder of the account of the North Manchurian Railways."

I met the Premier on the morning of the 19th and we discussed the situation of the Army and also the actions of the right-wing. The Premier spoke as if there was nothing to worry about.

Following this, I met the Foreign Minister and he spoke of the problem of the opening up of the Yangtze and also of the ROOSEVELT problem.

Later, I met the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal at the Imperial Palace and he said: "I don't know whether it is Gen. UGAKI's group or not, and I don't believe that UGAKI himself would do such things, but at any rate, matters are becoming very serious because their actions have become quite vigorous. There is some apprehension over the China problem and Gen. UGAKI seems to have the intention of negotiating directly with CHIANG Kai-shek. The present leaders of the Army are quite anxious about this problem. Furthermore, UGAKI is passing out many bribes. It seems as if there is quite a bit of money coming in to UGAKI and Perhaps NOGUCHI Jun and YAMASHITA Kamesaburo of Korea, are putting it out. I hope that this will not bring about corrupt results. Things are not very pleasant because such men as Viscount INOUYE, YAMAJI Kazuyoshi and KOBAYASHI Yasokichi are so active. If UGAKI is to form a Cabinet, he will select more men from the political parties than at the present. The general run of the people believe that UGAKI is a resolute and courageous man, but I believe that he is too

RESTRICTED

independent and it would be troublesome if he became too stubborn with mistaken ideas. These are the established facts today and they can be thought of as being quite troublesome." The Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal spoke as if Gen. UGAKI was desirous of forming a Cabinet.

I again met KONOYE on the 23rd and he said: "The Cabinet is at a dangerous impasse, but it may be that the Cabinet can continue. However, there is no one other than UGAKI in an emergency."

I unexpectedly met SAKAI, the Minister of Agriculture and Forestry, at the Peers' Club. He said: "I believe that it would be better if the Cabinet resigned as soon as possible. The Premier does not seem too optimistic about things, but if I should advise the Premier to resign, then it would seem as if I had maneuvered to have him resign and that would be quite troublesome. Therefore, I have remained silent. I believe that there will be a resignation around the beginning of January ."

I unexpectedly met Count ARIMA (the former Minister of Agriculture and Forestry) on the 23rd, and he said: "It seems as if it is the idea of the majority of the farmers that any Cabinet that would guarantee them the right to live would be permissible. I believe that they (farmers) are of the opinion that they cannot rely upon the present Cabinet."

Later, I met Minister YADA at the Tokyo Club. He said that he had gone to meet KONOYE on some business for the Japan-China Cultural Association (Toa Dobunkai), and KONOYE had said: "Lt. Gen. OBATA came to my place and

said that he desired that a MAZAKI Cabinet be formed. OHATA said that if MAZAKI formed the succeeding Cabinet, then the China problem might be solved comparatively easier."

In connection with this matter, it seems a fact that men such as MAZAKI, SHODA, KUHARA and ARAKI have been meeting frequently. The intellectuals are quite concerned over the fact that the gaining of influence by such men is not very advantageous for the Cabinet. I (HARADA) do not believe that KONOYE has given his approval, although I do not know what he said to this. I am thinking of speaking to KONOYE about this matter once.

I met IKEDA at Oiso on the 25th and he said: "The meetings between Ambassador GREW and Foreign Minister NOMURA are not progressing as favorably as they have been reported in the press. The United States has brought forth the Manchukuo issue. Isn't it progressing to a point of revising the treaty?"

There seemed to be quite a gap between this story and that which I had previously heard. I thought that there might be men who were endeavoring to set people at variance, but I did not ask their names. I spoke of this matter with TANI over the phone and he said: "That is a very mistaken story. Just who has been saying such things? I do not say that matters are progressing ideally and neither do I say that we can be optimistic; however, the situation is not that way. The facts are different."

Therefore, I called IKEDA and told him of this foregoing statement of TANI and I also cautioned him: "You must meet the Foreign Minister once and learn his

RESTRICTED

true intentions. Great caution must be exercised because it may be that the remainder of the so-called SHIRATORI faction is setting the people at variance."

On the night of the 25th, I invited former War Minister SUGIYAMA and ARITA to supper at the Yoshidaya in Akasaka. I spoke to them of the points over which I was concerned. I brought up the familiar problem of the necessity for strict control of the lower ranks of the Kempei and of the Imperial Guards, and also the problem of control of the lower and higher ranks. I also mentioned those things which I personally had heard, such as the stories of Gen. MAZAKI and KUHARA, and of these groups who desire to close in on the Army. This meeting broke up after 10:00 p.m. and I again returned to Oiso.

I went to Okitsu and met the Prince on the morning of the 26th. I made a general report. On the matter of the present situation of the Cabinet, the Prince said: "It is not a good thing to destroy something in order to build something anew." The Prince also mentioned that there had been many incidents of breach of faith on the part of Germany in past relations between Germany and Japan. He was also concerned over diplomatic problems.

On the evening of the 28th, Maj. Gen. SUZUKI came over and said: "This is the end for the Cabinet. Resignation is inevitable. According to the Chief Cabinet Secretary, whom I met this morning, sympathetic members of the House of Representatives met the Premier and recommended that the Cabinet resign. After this incident, the Premier became very pessimistic. This is all for this Cabinet."

RESTRICTED

Cabinet Hopefuls' Maneuver

On the 28th, I left Oiso and met SAKURAUCHI, the former Minister of Agriculture and Forestry. We discussed many matters and SAKURAUCHI said: "I met the Premier two or three days ago and when I warned him that he must reorganize, he replied that he might."

However, I (HARADA) believed that a reorganization would only lead to failure. Conferences among KUHARA, HARAKI, SHODA and ARAKI have been held quite frequently and I was invited once. Therefore, it was an established fact that these conferences were not just rumors, but it is not clear as to how strong they will be or just what is is. The general attitude concerning the Cabinet is not very favorable. It seemed as if most people were in doubt as to what course would be most advisable or as to how long the Cabinet could continue.

On the morning of the 29th, I spoke with the Premier over the phone and he said: "I do not think that this problem will be settled even if a reorganization were carried out. I'm not thinking of continuing very long even after a reorganization. At any rate, I will do as much as I can in my present capacity." Since meetings and such with the Premier at this time would only serve to give rise to unfavorable rumors against the Cabinet, I am refraining from meeting the Premier.

UNCLASSIFIED
SECRET
CONFIDENTIAL
RESTRICTED
REGRADED
ORDER SEC ARMY
BY TAG PER
70024

RESTRICTED